The German Tribune

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Nato summit sounds more cheerful note

DIE ZEIT

Warnings had for once not gone unheeded, Nato secretary-general Joseph Luns told the assembled Defence Ministers at Nato headquarters in Brussels on 6 December.

General Gundersen of Norway, current chairman of Nato's military committee, agreed that prospects were no longer so gloomy.

This was a far cry from the tenor of the report submitted last year by Admiral Sir Peter Hill-Norton of Britain, his predecessor.

Sir Peter had sounded such a gloomy note on the balance of military power between East and West that Defence Ministers were shocked and taken aback.

~~As recently as last March, on the eve~~ of the London Nato summit, Mr Luns sounded more sceptical than ever (and he has never been given to sounding unduly confident).

If he feels genuine progress has been accomplished then it can only be because President Carter chose, at London, to call on his Nato allies to join forces in a renewed effort to offset the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority.

It remains, of course, to be seen whether this appeal has the desired results. They will not, in any case, make their presence felt until the mid-eighties.

The Allies have long been past masters at avoiding the issue and passing the buck. Yet their complacency has undeniably been shaken by the news that US strategists have seriously considered falling back on the Dutch, Belgian and French borders in the event of a Warsaw Pact invasion of this country.

US Defence Secretary Harold Brown has now seen fit to reassure his Nato allies that America has every intention of ceding as little terrain as possible and defending Nato territory as near its borders with the Eastern Bloc as possible.

Mr Brown went on to say that the United States continued to endorse the flexible response strategy, with the arms and men it entails.

US nuclear weapons will continue to be stationed in and maintained for Europe, albeit improved in design and efficacy, with a view to providing an effective nuclear shield for Nato Europe.

The nuclear deterrent is neither to be relativised nor differentiated by a distinction between the security of Western Europe and that of North America.

Defence Secretary Brown chose the Brussels Nato summit to don the mantle of a Mr Three Per Cent. From the moment he arrived he stated in public his conviction that all Nato countries ought to be investing a further three per cent in real terms in defence.

Bonn Defence Minister Georg Leber noted in indirect response that this country's armaments plans for the most part matched those of Nato as a whole for the next decade.

Unofficially he added that this country is so heavily armed as to have reached the upper limit that may be considered politically tolerable both within Nato and in Europe as a whole.

While a military balance must undeniably be maintained with Eastern Europe a balance must also be struck in Western Europe and within Nato.

A Bonn armed to the teeth is not going to leave a very good taste in the mouth of the rest of Europe, so this country is going to have to be on its best behaviour and not to make the ~~defence of Western Europe appear a~~ one-man show.

The United States faces a problem of a different nature now that Robert Komer, the new US ambassador to Nato, has reiterated his country's pledge to rush reinforcements to Central Europe in the event of a crisis.

Mr Komer's stated aim is to double the fighting strength of ground manpower and to more than double air power within ten days.

General Haig similarly expects at least an additional corps to be airlifted over in a fortnight or so in order to provide extra cover for Central Europe's open northern flank in the plains of Northern Germany.

But neither the logistical nor the financial details have yet been settled, so although reinforcement of fighting strength is one of the two men's priorities it has yet to take concrete shape at Nato headquarters in Brussels.

America's Salt policies are a further problem from Nato's point of view. Paul Warnke, chief US delegate at the Salt talks in Geneva, reckons Salt II should be ready for signing early next year.

In an annex to Salt II a three-year moratorium on the introduction of land- and air-launched Cruise missiles with a range of more than 600 kilometres (400 miles) is envisaged.

Signatories to Salt II are, however, to ~~retain the right to develop and under~~take trials of missiles in the Cruise category with a range of up to 2,500 kilometres (1,500 miles).

They are also to be entitled to supply others with technical and systems know-how. At all events, there will be no explicit ban or limitation in respect of this right. But Mr Warnke was not entirely unequivocal on this crucial point in his address to the North Atlantic Council.

So Secretary Brown, like Secretary Vance, found himself having to reassure European delegates. He did so with a clear undertaking that America would not foreclose at the Salt talks on the options for Nato defence of Europe the Cruise missile might entail.

America is also not to include medium-range nuclear missiles on the Salt agenda without prior close consultation with European members of Nato.

Soviet medium-range missiles, which represent a threat to Western Europe and to Western Europe alone (certainly as far as the United States is concerned) are in future to be included on the Salt agenda.

So Nato's prospects in the year ahead are indeed far from gloomy, although the Salt sky is a little overcast in a wintry Geneva.

Lothar Ruehl

(Die Zeit, 9 December 1977)



Bonn Defence Minister Georg Leber (centre) greets US Defence Secretary Harold Brown (left) at the 6 December Nato summit in Brussels. US permanent ambassador to Nato W. Tapley Bennett (right) looks on. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Breakthrough in Brussels

Common Market leaders, meeting in Brussels on 5 and 6 December for what has been their third summit this year, achieved an unexpected breakthrough on the economic front.

They are widely felt to have severed the Gordian knot that for so long has hampered further development of the European Community, but it is early days for jubilation.

For the past four crisis-torn years the EEC has stood its ground and, to quote Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, has no cause to hide its light under a bushel. Yet are we any nearer a solution to the main problems the Common Market faces? There are still six million out of work and the steel, textiles and shipbuilding industries are all working at well below capacity.

So it was hardly surprising that economic issues predominated at the Brussels summit, with the Nine resolving to set the economic wheels in motion by means of investments totalling thousands of millions.

But encouraging though this joint resolve may be, it does not erase their failure to achieve an equal measure of joint endeavour in the political sphere.

Unlike the other eight Common Market leaders Mr Callaghan, for instance, was unable to say for sure whether Britain will be holding direct elections to the 410-member European Parliament next May or June.

So although the EEC seemed to be making headway in other departments at the Brussels summit this failure to synchronise direct elections to the European Parliament represented a distinct shortcoming.

Maybe Mr Callaghan will now succeed

Continued on page 3

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Third World disunity leads to breakdown of Geneva talks



Western industrialised countries can breathe a sigh of relief. After weeks of talks on stabilising commodity prices, currently governed by the laws of supply and demand, the developing countries have voluntarily thrown in the towel.

With two days to go to the end of the Geneva raw materials conference Third World spokesmen manoeuvred this section of the North-South talks into deadlock because, in their opinion, there was no longer any point in continuing.

Third World delegates argued that the major industrialised countries lacked the political determination to arrive at a consensus.

This accusation does not absolve the developing countries of responsibility, however. While the industrialised countries were willing to negotiate, the Third World ended up insisting on all or nothing.

What the developing countries basically want is an integrated raw materials programme incorporating price guarantees for a number of major commodities (the exact number has yet to be decided).

Variations in sales and prices are to be offset by stockpiling, stockpiles being financed by a common fund. In conference jargon this has come to be known as the first "window."

The second window consists of other measures which have nothing to do with stockpiles and price stabilisation. The common fund is, for instance, to be used to lend financial support to countries that lack competitive raw materials of their own.

It is also to be used to finance the development of a commodity, to diversify, to boost productivity and to aid marketing or research and development.

Product-orientated development projects are envisaged, say the financing of a groundnut farm in Chad.

Commodity agreements and the common fund have been going the rounds for years but were not included on negotiation agendas until after Unctad IV in Nairobi.

Major commodity consumers in the industrialised world initially refused to have anything to do with the common fund, fearing that it would lead to interventionist commodity market arrangements similar to the European Community's common agricultural policy.

Eventually, however, Western delegations had second thoughts and arrived in Geneva with a compromise package.

Unlike the Eastern Bloc countries, which had nothing to show for themselves but fine words and empty hands, the West at least brought with it commodity proposals that were deemed a viable compromise.

The West's proposals were aimed on the one hand at stemming the tide of intervention and economic planning in world trade while on the other being intended to indicate that the industrialised countries were willing to come to terms with the Third World.

The industrialised countries acknowledged that the common fund was a crucial factor in solving commodity problems but wanted to assign it tasks different from those envisaged by the developing world.

What is more, the West was not only prepared to participate in commodity agreements but also willing to help finance them, remitting the as yet missing cash to the common fund.

Contrary to Third World wishes, however, the common fund was not, as envisaged by the West, to be entitled to pursue raw materials policies of its own. Individual commodity agreements were to be concluded separately between producers and consumers.

The reason for insistence on this procedure was to preclude the possibility of varying majorities consisting of countries with only a minor interest in the commodity concerned ignoring the wishes of both producers and consumers.

The common fund as envisaged by the industrialised countries would thus function as a mere savings bank, administering its funds.

The developing countries, who for some time have commanded a substantial majority at the UN, would thus not *be in a position to bring influence to* bear on how the common fund was to be invested.

A further advantage of this proposal would be that funding of individual agreements need not be undertaken in one lump sum, since price fluctuations would tend to offset each other if a number of commodities were involved.

The industrialised countries declared themselves willing to underwrite loans of this kind. They were even prepared to advance loans towards further stockpiling in the event of extraordinary market fluctuations.

There can be no doubt about it: the delegations of the industrialised countries at Geneva were prepared to make substantial concessions on this issue.

The Geneva talks did not, however, reach the point at which this generosity might require putting into practice. For as soon as the industrialised countries made it clear that they were prepared to discuss, provided only their basic concept were accepted, the united front of developing countries swiftly disintegrated.

"The more detailed the talks become, the more liable solidarity among developing countries is to fall apart at the seams," says economist Dr. Wolfgang Vohrer, a Free Democratic member of the Bonn Bundestag who has closely followed the progress of the conferece.

The more self-confident threshold countries, such as the industrially advanced developing countries of Latin America, seemed prepared to accept the more free-market solution espoused in the West's *common fund* proposals.

They were less than enthusiastic on one point, however. Since their commodities are currently, for the most part, faring well, they take a dim view of the prospect of investing coffee surpluses in the common fund to help bale out other commodity producers.

The oil countries too, who like the industrialised countries would primarily be required to foot bills or underwrite loans, demonstrated yet again that their solidarity with the Third World is primarily verbal in nature.

A majority of Asian countries was not disinclined to accept the West's proposals, but the African countries strongly objected. They were worried, and not without justification, that they might emerge empty-handed.

The countries of Africa, many of which have very little to offer in the way of commodities, would stand to suffer as a result of price stabilisation.

Essential commodities they had no option but to import would then be maintained at artificially high prices. High oil prices have shown that they are the losers in any such arrangement.

So it was hardly suprising that the African countries were keen to open the second window first. The 'fund within a fund' was their only prospect of benefiting from the New International Economic Order.

Algeria took advantage of this African pressure to make play with being a spokesman for the Third World. Algeria advocated a tough approach towards the West and was not prepared to accept the industrialised countries' suggestion to deal first and foremost with the commodity sector and with the form the common fund was to take.

At this stage of the proceedings the Third World began to look increasingly disunited, and even deeper rifts seemed likely to materialise. So the only way to maintain solidarity was to continue to insist on all or nothing.

Whether this solidarity will do more than last out the winter remains to be seen. A further round of North-South talks is due to start in Geneva next spring.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 9 December 1977)

Brussels 'stops the clock' to reach agreement on fishing



In what has become a time-honoured tradition the clocks are again being stopped in Common Market Brussels. This time fishing quotas are the subject on which the Nine have failed to reach agreement before the New Year's deadline.

On 16 January EEC Agriculture Ministers are to return to the conference table for further talks on national fishing quotas within the European Community's 200-mile zone in the North Sea and the Atlantic.

The first three days of talks proved a failure. Progress was achieved on minor details, such as the specifications of trawlers that would be given the go-ahead, but the Nine were no nearer agreement on the main point at issue.

Britain and the other Eight have so far failed to reach agreement on whether and in which circumstances a government is entitled to regulate fishing in its own coastal waters.

Unlike the other Eight, Britain refuses to forgo the right to go it alone. The British government is merely prepared to come to terms with the EEC Commission in Brussels.

Britain is not prepared to be bound by the Bonn proposal that the Council of Ministers be empowered by a qualified majority vote to forbid a member-country to act unilaterally.

The other Eight, on the other hand, are of the opinion that there can be no such thing as a common fisheries policy unless Brussels is allowed the last word.

In comparison with this dispute, quotas seem less of a problem. The other Eight may not be willing at present to agree to Britain's demand for a forty-per-cent share of trawler quotas, but a compromise is within the realms of possibility.

The Common Market Commission is prepared to offer Britain roughly thirty per cent of next year's proposed quota total of 2.25 million tons — as against approximately thirteen per cent for this country.

Bonn has been called on to submit fresh quota proposals on 16 January. Wherever possible these new proposals are to take into account the losses member-countries will sustain as a result of no longer being allowed to fish in the waters of a number of other countries, especially Iceland.

The Council of Minister has already fixed the price guidelines for next year. Prices will be up to seven per cent higher but this increase is not expected to hit the consumer.

The prices at which the Common Market is committed to intervene and buy up surpluses are at least one third below current market prices.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 December 1977)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Bonn Opposition shirks crucial questions

The three main questions preoccupying the Christian Democratic Opposition in Bonn at the moment are: 1. Is there going to be a fourth nationwide political party? 2. Who is to be its next candidate for the Chancellorship? 3. Can it win round the FDP, currently in coalition with the Social Democrats, and form a government coalition with the Liberals? If so, how?

Question Three has long since been answered. The Bonn Opposition's hopes in the FDP were all in vain. Given the distribution of power within his party as a whole and within the Bundestag party, the FDP's Hans-Dietrich Genscher simply cannot afford to change coalition partners. There is an active minority within the FDP ready to frustrate the first moves in this direction.

However, such moves are unlikely to take place. The majority of the party is not prepared to do anything to bring about a coalition with the CDU/CSU, although it would, without enthusiasm, accept such a coalition if it had to do so.

The FDP is reasonably content in its present coalition with the SPD and is not attracted to the Opposition, which presents a picture of internal strife and is not impressively led. Herr Genscher typifies this attitude.

The second question — who is to be the Opposition's candidate for the Chancellorship? — is premature. It would be unrealistic, one year after a lost election, to choose a candidate now who is expected to lead the Christian Democrats to victory in the next election in three years' time.

The choice of a candidate for the Chancellorship in a two-party alliance such as the CDU/CSU is an extremely delicate one. Herr Biedenkopf did considerable damage to Christian Democratic harmony when he prematurely announced that Herr Kohl was to be the CDU/CSU's choice before the last election.

There is no good reason for the constant speculation on the question of a fourth nationwide political party. No one has yet produced a jot of evidence that a new federal party or an extension of the CSU (which at present operates only in Bavaria), either established or backed by Opposition politicians, would capture votes from either of the other two parties.

The CDU/CSU is paying a high price for its obsessive preoccupation with these three questions. It gives the electorate the impression that its sole concern is to gain power and that it has not given much thought to how it would use such power if it were elected. The electorate expects the Opposition to state its policies clearly and unequivocally.

This the CDU/CSU has signally failed to do. What are the reason for this failure? Disunity is not the main cause, although the differences of opinion between Heinrich Geissler and Kurt Biedenkopf on economic policy, which should be the CDU/CSU's main strength, are evident enough. More important is the CDU/CSU's depressing incapacity to state the policies it has worked out clearly in its own mind.

Long-term policies are vague, but this is a criticism which could be made of the other parties, too. What is more worrying is the Bonn Opposition's inability to formulate its demands on day to day political issues, to criticise its opponents' inadequacies. Here, too, the the outlines are just as blurred.

This unclarity has led to a situation where most people do not know where the Opposition stands on the question of security and measures to combat terrorism and what the difference is between the Opposition's and the government's proposed measures.

This unclarity stems partly from the Opposition's inability to decide on priorities. It spends its energies in a thousand actions, advances, retreats.

The leader of the opposition, Herr Kohl, has recently been prone to this tendency. He speaks in Bundestag debates on matters of secondary importance. He was recently involved in an argument on a point of order.

The electorate will not get a clear picture of the CDU/CSU's policies until they become more consistent. One moment the Opposition takes up a subject with sound and fury only to let it drop altogether shortly afterwards.

The CDU/CSU conducted its 1976 general election campaign with the slogan "Freedom or socialism." Once the election was over, no more was heard of this.

The CDU's analysis of terrorism was described as an important political breakthrough and was almost immediately shelved. A new, revised version is coming out soon and one wonders what kind of fate it will meet.

Of course an Opposition party does not need to stick to its mistakes, but the more often it changes its tune the fewer people are going to listen.

One gets the impression when analysing the Opposition's current showing that it is short of material with which to attack the government. Is it perhaps waiting for next year's state parliament elections to help it out of its embarrassing situation? This may prove a backhander. Perhaps the government will come up with new ideas in the interim.

The Opposition must not rely on this expedient. It must accept the fact that it is not going to dislodge the present government through the state parliaments.

Its coalitions with the FDP in Lower Saxony and the Saar have not changed the power base in Bonn.

The CDU/CSU cannot transform its majority in the Bundesrat into a kind of counter-government unless it gets a two thirds majority. And no Bonn Opposition has ever managed to do this.

The Opposition should not attempt to achieve a clearer outline by resorting to questions of personality and tactics. filibustering discussions on questions which do not arise, preoccupation with the irrelevant and sudden switches from dramatic appeals on the one hand to feigned indifference on the other.

The CDU/CSU has to get down to basics and tell the electorate where its policies would differ from those of the present government.

Johann Georg Reissmüller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 December 1977)

More than a million out of work again

Yet again the number of unemployed has risen above the million-mark. Nobody in Bonn, and that includes the governing parties, wishes to play down the seriousness of these figures.

However, the news does not come as a great surprise as it did three years ago when one million was exceeded for the first time, as economic research institutes had correctly forecast.

This does not mean that the government and the Opposition have got used to or accepted the situation. On the contrary, the government, realising the seriousness of unemployment, has introduced tax relief for industry and for the individual taxpayer, though these measures have yet to bear fruit.

These latest figures present the Opposition with an opportunity to state their policies on employment and to present alternatives to the government's economic and fiscal policy.

An analysis of the gloomy employment figures does show a tenuous silver lining. The increase in the unemployment figures can certainly be attributed to seasonal factors.

On the other hand, leaving aside those affected by seasonal unemployment, there is still an overall increase compared with last year.

The greater increase in male unemployment shows that professions which have to reduce their volume of work anyway at this time of year are especially affected.

It should also be pointed out that unemployment among the young is marginally down on last year.

Basically, however, there is little change in the situation. This is not the time to suggest new remedies or make new forecasts. Labour market experts will have to consider seriously how to combat structural unemployment more effectively.

Gerhart Weck

(Bremer Nachrichten, 3 December 1977)

Continued from page 1

in persuading MPs at Westminster that the time has come for them to renew their commitment to European integration.

He will certainly be able to advance the telling argument that other members of the EEC are paying heavily for the privilege, whereas Britain's share of the Brussels budget has been pruned.

It was not, after all, merely the resolve to deal with financial difficulties which made Common Market leaders feel the Brussels summit had been such a success; they were also pleased with themselves for having been so obliging to Whitehall.

The summit did not, however, make any major pronouncement on political issues. Having been warned by Israel and South Africa to mind their own business the Nine preferred not to reiterate their views.

Previous Common Market declarations on the Middle East and Southern Africa have had very little effect, yet neither Jerusalem nor Pretoria can be impervious to EEC warnings.

The Nine have already imposed an embargo on arms exports to both countries. They have yet to extend the embargo to trade of all kinds.

As yet Brussels is evidently reluctant to take this final step and risk the grave consequences it must surely entail.

As was only to be expected, France's President Giscard d'Estaing called on the Nine to agree on uniform measures to combat terrorism, including uniform extradition procedures.

M. Giscard d'Estaing only recently came in for domestic criticism for having permitted the extradition to this country of Klaus Croissant, the former Baader-Meinhof defence counsel, who had sought political asylum in France.

In the course of a working breakfast with Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt the French leader tried to start the ball rolling.

There can be no doubt that it is high time the the Justice Ministers of the Nine started thinking about how they intend to join forces and successfully combat international terrorism.

It is also reassuring to note that the EEC summit, anxious to forestall backsliding, has called on Ministers of Justice, Economic Affairs and Finance to submit reports to the next summit in Copenhagen next April.

Helmut J. Weiland

(Nordwest Zeitung, 7 December 1977)

Anti-terrorist package proves problematic

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Two months have passed since the death of Hanns-Martin Schleyer, and still the Bundestag has not introduced the new, stricter measures to combat terrorism which it promised at the time.

The Contact Ban Act preventing communication between defendants and lawyers in exceptional circumstances was an exception, though not a notable one. The SPD and FDP are not in a position to make quick and firm decisions.

The CDU and CSU are obviously worried about this inactivity insofar as they want to see more effective measures taken against terrorism. On the other hand they are naturally, and quite legitimately, trying to gain tactical advantages from the government's inactivity.

The SPD recently held a special session on the terrorist problem, called by Herbert Wehner, leader of the parliamentary party. The purpose of this meeting was not to lay down firm guidelines but to find out and exchange views.

Herr Wehner is clearly determined to achieve a maximum of unity on the final vote and to outmanoeuvre the Opposition so that it is no longer in a position where it can decide which measures are passed or blocked.

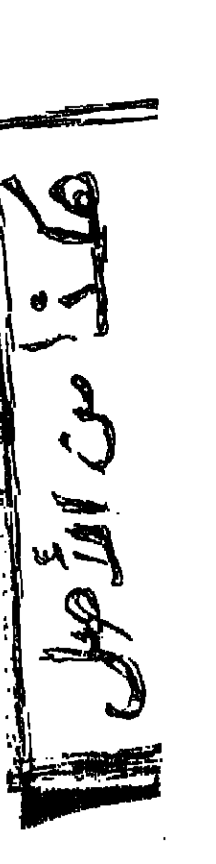
The government does not have a safe majority in parliament. The coalition *leadership is seriously worried by the* possibility of defeat on this vote, as is shown by the fact that there is talk of a vote of confidence in the SPD parliamentary party ranks. By this means, the Chancellor could force them into unity.

The coalition leadership realises that its legislative package goes too far for the liking of some SPD/FDP MPs while the CDU/CSU consider that it does not go far enough. As soon as the uncontroversial aspects have been dealt with by the new year, there is bound to be a major confrontation.

The Coallition will certainly be put severely to the test. The Opposition will also have to decide whether it is prepared to sacrifice some of its other joint projects for the sake of forcing through the surveillance of suspected terrorists' defence counsel — a measure which it has been doggedly insisting on for some time.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 December 1977)





■ TERRORISM

Three writers take a long hard look at a frightening phenomenon

The difficulty in describing or analysing terrorism lies in the fact that this spectre cannot be pressed into handy and all-round applicable terms. Such formulas fail to get to the heart of the matter, and the questing intellect has no choice but to continue searching.

A historian, a journalist and a political scientist have — each in his own way — embarked on such a search, the results of which are now available in the form of three remarkable books.

The historian Professor Walter Laqueur, a peripatetic authority at home in the intellectual centres of the Western world, made a name for himself by his excellent description and analysis of guerrilla warfare in his book entitled *Guerrilla*. This book is an undisputed standard work on the subject.

At the time, Professor Laqueur excluded terrorism from his book in order not to confuse the issue. He has now delved into this subject and presented his latest work (Walter Laqueur: *Terrorismus*; Athenäum Verlag, Kronberg 1977; 243 pp, DM36).

But it remains questionable whether this book, too, will become a standard work. Terrorism, it would seem, defies analysis in historical terms.

Granted, there have been some astonishing finds made in this sector, as for instance by the author, who reports in his book that the Russian revolutionaries around 1880, when they failed to mobilise the masses, saw the only way out in discrediting the government by engaging in acts of terror and proving to society at large that not only was there a revolutionary party in existence but that this party was growing noticeably stronger... a frightening parallel to our own day and age.

But even so, the instruments of history are soon blunted when it comes to delving into the roots of terrorism.

The historic panorama unfolded by Professor Laqueur with the painstaking exactitude that is characteristic of him provides fascinating information about the past without shedding much light on the present.

Notwithstanding such shortcomings, *Terrorismus* is a useful book — both factually and analytically.

There are interesting thought impulses emanating from it, as for instance when the author points out that the British political philosopher Edmund Burke once said that all one needs to do is scratch the surface of an ideologist to come upon the terrorist beneath... or Laqueur's well substantiated differentiation between the nationalistic and separatistic terrorism (Ireland) and the anarchistic variety in the Federal Republic of Germany... or his treatment of the philosophy of the Bomb with the instruments of history... and finally the insight that, in terms of history, terrorism is no leftist phenomenon. Writes the author: "The true inspiration at the root of terrorism is usually a non-partisan activism which can be steered to the left or to the right."

The author himself indicated the point at which the historian bogs down in dealing with this subject when writing: "A comprehensive assessment of terrorism must above all take into account its most recent forms."

Thus, according to Professor Laqueur

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himself, it is an obvious waste of time to compare the Russian *Narodniki* of the 1870s with the German terrorists of the Baader-Meinhof ilk and their successors.

The journalist Franz Wördemann deals with the present rather than with history. His book (Franz Wördemann: *Terrorismus. Motive — Täter — Strategien*; Piper Verlag, Munich 1977; 393 pp, DM38) is not only well founded but also readable.

The author, formerly editor-in-chief of WDR (one of this country's major radio and TV networks) and subsequently a staff member of the Munich daily *Münchner Merkur*, has waded through the mountain of facts on his subject with industry and great care.

But with all precision and notwithstanding all his detachment, Franz Wördemann is an imaginative and forceful writer.

Opening sentences are frequently more than a beginning, and Wördemann's book starts with the words "The terrorist is the most capable among the sleight-of-hand artists of our time."

The sleight-of-hand artist needs no prop and his tools are few at the most. He is economical in his use of time and his use of means.

The terrorist of today is a sleight-of-hand artist operating with bomb and a pistol and with these modest tools he imparts great fear.

Wördemann delves into terrorist action and, whenever possible, into motivations. He depicts the psychogram of the terrorist as well as his "politogram" — the politogram of a small group of obsessed, warped and confused people whose dangerous reliance on a larger group of helpers and accessories is not underestimated by the author.

For him, the historic tracks do not lead back to Bakunin but to Ulrike Meinhof. He focuses his light on the events of the past decade rather than on those that happened centuries ago. In other words, his attention is centred on the road from the first via the second to the third generation of terrorists.

Franz Wördemann arrives at a number of important and well substantiated conclusions. He clearly differentiates between terrorists and guerrillas, saying that the terrorist uses the cloak of a guerrilla in order to acquire a certain legitimacy. As Wördemann puts it: "Urban guerrilla is a public relations term used by terrorists."

The insights arrived at by the author which are worth pondering could best be sketched as follows:

- While terrorism of previous eras only succeeded in confusing governments, today's terrorism is in a position to blackmail them and bring about their partial capitulation;
- This is due not least to the coldly calculating involvement of innocent people;
- Modern means of transportation have invested the terrorists with a hitherto unthinkable degree of mobility;
- New weapon systems to which terrorists can easily gain access (such as pocket missiles) increase their effectiveness, opening up new dimensions. Attacks on airliners, supertankers or nuclear power stations have become feasible. There can be no doubt that highly developed modern states are more vulnerable than Czarist Russia;
- Modern communications have immeasurably increased the effectiveness of "propaganda by deed." Television makes every such action visible on a worldwide scale. The target is not the victim but the psyche of the viewer in front of the TV screen, thus giving rise to and creating something that can be termed unreal reality.

Wördemann deals at length with German terrorist groupings, proving that there is a specifically German "detachment from reality" and that they are nevertheless part and parcel of the international terrorist set-up across frontiers.

It goes without saying that in such a well researched work as Wördemann's the author also critically examines the finely woven methods of our defences against terrorism. The author arrives at the conclusion that even the most sophisticated prophylaxis is handicapped by the fact that it is searching for a perpetrator of a crime that has not yet been committed.

I cannot imagine anyone reading Wördemann's book without gaining new insights. But it might be advisable for a reader to immediately read yet another small volume on the same subject (Iring Fetscher: *Terrorismus und Reaktion*; Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Cologne 1977; 147 pp, DM12).

In his essay, Fetscher attempts to shed light on the background of terrorism. He rather goes overboard in psychologising and philosophising, and many of his views appear out of focus.

The blame that attaches to society is dealt with in generalities. On the other hand, the differentiation between the historic reform objectives of the social democratic labour movement and the ideology of terror is convincing in every single argument.

While Wördemann forgoes the temptation to provide recipes, Fetscher — notwithstanding his intellectual originality, which he demonstrates over large passages of his book — displays the missionary superficiality of a provincial columnist.

This applies above all to those passages of his book in which he philosophises about dissatisfaction with the State.

His essay thus remains a partial complement to Wördemann's book — no more and no less.

Hans Gresmann

(Die Zeit, 9 December 1977)

No foul play, Stammheim post-mortems prove

Post-mortems on Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe and the examination of Irmgard Möller, who was severely injured in a suicide attempt, provide no indication following toxicological examinations that there was any foul play involved.

Speaking before an investigating committee of the Stuttgart state assembly, forensic medicine experts Professors Joachim Mallach, Tübingen, and Hans Joachim Rauschke, Stuttgart, stated unanimously that there was no evidence in any of the four persons involved of any drug which would have impaired their consciousness or rendered them unconscious.

Traces of such substances were most in evidence in the case of Baader, but they stemmed from medication prescribed by doctors. In any event, the concentration of such drugs would not have sufficed to impair consciousness, said Professor Mallach.

But had the prescribed quantity been taken all at once, it would have been fatal.

Concerning the time of death, the experts could only establish a relatively large span of time since, according to Professor Rauschke, the deaths occurred at a time when only minimal examination was possible.

Examinations took place more than seven hours after the bodies of Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader were found because the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Justice had issued instructions to delay the autopsy pending the arrival of foreign experts and of the lawyers of the deceased.

As a result, the experts had to draw their conclusions from rigor mortis and body temperature.

They established that the death of Baader and Ensslin occurred on 18 October after midnight (when the hostages held in Mogadishu were freed).

The earliest possible time of death for Baader was fixed at between 0.15 and 2.00 a.m. and for Gudrun Ensslin at between 1.15 and 1.25 a.m. But it is quite possible that they died considerably later, said Professor Mallach.

It was impossible to interrogate Irmgard Möller because her doctor and a forensic medicine expert, having examined her, stated that she was in no physical condition to undergo such questioning. She has been on a hunger strike for the past two weeks. As pointed out by her lawyer in a press release, the hunger strike was intended to "anticipate her physical and psychological destruction" following close to four months of solitary confinement.

In the same press release the public was informed of Frau Möller's refusal to be questioned in a non-public session of the investigating committee. The release went on to say that she considered such a questioning a continuation of her isolation from the outside world.

She was, however, prepared to testify at length on all facts known to her should public participation be guaranteed. It is uncertain if and when such a questioning can take place since Frau Möller intends to continue her hunger strike.

Although the court, in a ruling of 30 November, ruled that Frau Möller must take part in community life in prison, the Stammheim prison authorities have not yet integrated her in normal prison life.

Since Verena Becker and Sabine Schmitz are already taking part in com-

Continued on page 7

■ MEDIA

Böll and Lenz discuss Press criticism of Germany with foreign correspondents in Bonn

There has been a lot of talk in the German press recently about why the Germans are unloved and unpopular. The terms in which this discussion is conducted are familiar: we are continually being told that for various reasons the German is resented and the agonising question is asked: why is there this response abroad? How does the rest of the world really see us and why do these countries see us in this way?

These problems, under the general heading "German Autumn 1977," were the subject of a discussion between Nobel Literature prize-winner Heinrich Böll and novelist and playwright Siegfried Lenz on the one hand and a group of foreign correspondents in this country on the other.

The foreign correspondents asked the two famous authors why the Germans are perpetually agonising over what the rest of the world thinks of them and why the subject of the unloved German has been filling newspaper columns in this country in recent months.

Heinrich Böll's tentative explanation was "an inferiority complex and injured pride." Siegfried Lenz went into more detail: "This country has had a very chequered and unhappy history, and many people in this country have the feeling that Germany is the step-child of history. This explains why they are always so anxious to find out how popular they are."

Heinrich Böll then took up this point: "You must not forget that we have never been very popular. And then again we have never been spoiled, either by our own government or by foreign governments, whereas the British, French and Italians have, on occasion, been spoiled.

"You must remember that an unspoiled child is terribly sensitive. I don't have this particular problem myself mind you.

"I would like to try to use the method of national psychology to explain why there is this strange reaction: there is no self-confidence and no self-knowledge and not the slightest historically verifiable understanding of this country's intellectual life and literature.

"Hölderlin said: 'Like a dullard you always deny your own soul.' So there is not only an inferiority complex towards the rest of the world, there is also a complete and utter lack of understanding for critical writers and intellectuals. This is what makes the German so sensitive."

Böll and Lenz did everything they could to help their listeners understand their motives and those of their friends, but they also tried, to help them see why the others respond in the way they do. Their explanations were so thoughtful and full of understanding that a Spanish colleague said: "The government ought to thank the two of them."

However, neither of them was aiming for government plaudits, and there were no taboos whatever in the discussion. Both were highly critical of the *Berufsverbot*, or alleged career ban, and of the "witch hunt of intellectuals" (Böll — "let's quite simply call it that.").

They were unsparing in their criticism of these aspects of present-day political life in this country but they also implied that criticism of Germany in the foreign press was, on occasion, one-sided and ill-informed.

Böll told his discussion partners that they ought to bear in mind that the Federal Republic of Germany is only 28 years old and that, as a State, "it had nothing to do with the atrocities of Auschwitz."

He went on to say that it was "nonsensical and profoundly unfair" to draw comparisons between the events in Stammheim on the one hand and Auschwitz and the terrorism of the Nazi regime on the other.

"I sometimes have the impression," Böll went on "that many people in your countries have preconceived notions of Germany for which they are continually seeking confirmation.

Of course there are former Nazis in this country. There are SS men here who have never been found out and probably murderers, too. We know this and we sense this. But this has got nothing to do with political guilt and the history of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Later on in the discussion, Böll said: "Always hammering and slamming us does no good at all."

The foreign correspondents have, of course, often heard criticism of their reports but never as perceptive and penetrating as what they heard from Böll and Lenz. In their observations on the "Kappler case" Böll and Lenz provided an excellent example of how to combine understanding with admonition without ever giving the impression of self-righteousness.

Lenz said that the case illustrated the clash of two ways of thinking and looking at things. On the one hand, as in Italy, there was the historical extreme. The Italians had insisted that their grievances should never be forgotten.

"I always defend the long memories of those who have suffered at the hands of others. On the other hand, certain groups in this country are always attempting to solve the problems of history by 'pragmatic' means. I do not accept this way of thinking. One cannot retire from one's own history with a winning smile and a bow. One is crucified on one's own history."

After these important words had been spoken, Böll asked his listeners: "You are critical journalists and you want to write critical articles, but is there not a danger that the unloved German is held up as a kind of diversion from the political difficulties in your own countries?

The Italians present joined in the general laughter when Böll, referring to the Kappler case, said: "I say good luck to any prisoner who tries to get out after he's been doing time for thirty years — even an old Nazi like Kappler."

The discussion then moved on to "heimat" and "fatherland" and there was mention of "old Nazis." Siegfried Lenz gave a work in progress report on his latest novel "Heimatmuseum" (Home Country Museum) which is already over seven hundred pages long and still not finished.

Lenz said he wanted to restore to their erstwhile state of grace these good old German concepts which smacked of Nazi blood and soil ideology but also, less sinisterly, of provincialism and what he called "the arrogance of narrow-mindedness." The novel was a story of Masuria, where Lenz was born.

Heinrich Böll, who is a Rhinelander by birth, said that he did not feel at home in Cologne any more but on the other hand he would hardly feel any more at home in New York or Birmingham. "One's real home is one's language."

Speaking of his readers, Böll said: "I feel a sense of belonging to the Germans, even to those that I do not like and reject politically. Even to the old Nazis.

"I am a part of their history and I have taken part in it: whether we are guilty or innocent is not the point, do you see.

"At my age, I had every right to be a rabid Nazi. No one could have blamed me if I had been. I feel a sense of community and belonging with them and in this sense I am a patriot".

It was typical of the way this discussion was conducted that no one raised his voice and everyone listened attentively. In an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust Böll made a number of remarks about himself and about other Germans which he would perhaps not have made in a different situation.

"It is just this feeling of belonging to a community which sometimes makes me so unreasonable if you see what I mean, sensitive and highly strung. Maybe there is an element of secret or unrequited love behind it.

"What interests me about Herr Strauss for example is not the nonsense he is talking at the moment: we are both about the same age and our background is similar. His father was a craftsman, like mine and we were both brought up as Roman Catholics. I find all this much more interesting than our many differences".

"What I find most intolerable about the present political climate here is that there is a danger that discussion, not only with Herr Strauss, will be impossible because of the artificial atmosphere of confrontation and the fear of contamination from one's political opponents".

Werner A. Perger

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 11 December 1977)

Schleyer news blackout probed

During the Schleyer kidnapping crisis the Bonn government requested the media not to reveal relevant information to the public for fear that this could benefit the terrorists.

Most of the German media complied with this request. The term news ban was frequently used in this context — though it was objected to by the government as inaccurate.

Government spokesman Klaus Bölling, who at the time was one of those who criticised the use of the term, has now changed his mind and is prepared to accept the use of the term because it is an accurate description of the real situation at the time.

There was unanimity among journalists, politicians and academics at the Political Academy's Tutzingen Discussions on the Media about the definition of the term "news ban."

But this was also where the unanimity ended. Assessments of the potential dangers of voluntary or compulsory withholding of information by press, radio and television varied considerably.

Munich political scientist Heinrich Oberreuter did a comparative study of reports on the Schleyer case in five major dailies and three weeklies, coming to the conclusion that the news ban was ineffective.

He worked out that practically all the relevant facts as subsequently published in the government's report on the case had already appeared in newspaper articles, though they had not been broadcast on radio or television.

Oberreuter attributed this fact to competition between the newspaper publishers and the international news situation. Given the inevitably international nature of news transmission, completely effective news bans could only be operated in totalitarian states.

Bölling said that the limitation of information had positive results on the whole, though he met with a considerable amount of disagreement from journalists on this point.

A reaction seems to have set in among many journalists who are still trying to get over the effects of having to act on government advice or instructions for six long weeks.

Herr Bölling made a good point when he stated that terrorism did not represent a mere abstract threat to the state but to the whole community, including the press, but not even this perceptive observation could allay all fears.

There was disquiet among many journalists about the fact that they had been eliminated from the process of deciding what was to be printed and in what form.

The point was made that there was an element of schizophrenia in the government's attitude. On the one hand, it was stressed that the media, and in particular television, should not be placed at the terrorists' diposal — getting publicity for their cause in the words of Horst Herold, president of the Federal CID, is the terrorists' chief aim.

Yet on the other hand the broadcast of funeral services for victims of terrorism and the constant changes in the programme created the impression among the general public that we were in a state of emergency forced upon us by terrorists.

Terrorism in this country is a serious challenge to the community and to the press and as yet there are no criteria for a generally binding response to it.

The government's relative success in preventing the terrorists from taking action for six weeks is a temptation to take the cooperation of the media for granted.

After Herr Schleyer's death, a number of journalists considered themselves partly to blame for his death because they were too willing to accept the government's wishes and believe that if they had not done so he might not have been killed. This self-questioning among journalists should lead Herr Bölling to take an equally self-critical attitude.

Karl-Otto Saur

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 December 1977)

■ EMPLOYMENT

Trade union conference in Frankfurt urges 'right to work' for the young

Unemployment among young people is not an isolated problem facing the younger generation nor is it solely due to the present difficulties in the sector of vocational training.

Like unemployment in general, youth unemployment is essentially a result of the economic crisis. And this can only be eliminated by lastingly restoring full employment.

This assessment of the situation was arrived at recently at the tenth National Youth Congress of *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* (DGB), the trades union confederation, in connection with youth unemployment.

The three-day congress in Frankfurt centred around youth unemployment and ways and means of combating it.

The 146 delegates, representing more than one million unionised young people, passed a resolution according to which the present instruments used in exerting influence on our economic development have proved inadequate as a means of enforcing the right to work.

In order to restore full employment, the resolution once more reiterates trade union demands for nationalisation of key industries, banks and insurance companies and for codetermination on "all levels of economic decision and along the lines of overall social planning."

The individual trade unions and the DGB were called upon to bring about through collective bargaining a reduction of weekly working time to 35 hours, an increase in paid holidays to six weeks and an improvement in agreements on automation and protection from dismissal.

According to the resolution, the present youth unemployment is not a "mere accident of an otherwise well-functioning economic order." This too was the view expressed by Karl Schwab, DGB executive committee member in charge of youth affairs.

Herr Schwab reiterated that youth unemployment can only be remedied by restoring full employment. In this connection he criticised the fact that the latest annual report of the Council of Economic Advisers made no suggestions as to how to achieve full employment but only put forward proposals for the redistribution of incomes in favour of business.

Youth unemployment cannot be eliminated only by extending the number of trainee posts. Said Herr Schwab:

"A growing number of youngsters are failing to get a permanent job following training and have been trained for occupations without a future; for them apprenticeship has only been a three-year transition period to unemployment or to employment as an unskilled worker at best."

The present number of 100,000 jobless youths aged under 20 or 250,000 under the age of 25, Karl Schwab pointed out, is likely to increase rather than decline in the early eighties due to the growing number of school-leavers.

In view of this development we must not count on the free market economy's recuperative powers. "We must cure the



evil at the root and stop playing around with symptoms. We must change our economic framework conditions in favour of a social system which centres around man rather than profit or State bureaucracy."

The written report of the youth department of the DGB executive on trade union youth work over the past three years gives prominence to the problem of youth unemployment.

The report remarks self-critically that the "shock of mass unemployment" has found the trade unions as a whole, and unionised youngsters in particular, relatively unprepared.

Although the problem of youth unemployment was already conspicuous in 1974 at the last National Youth Congress, it was then attributed primarily to shortcomings in the vocational training system.

This, the report says, has also led to the experience that the unfavourable economic development in the Federal Republic of Germany has brought to an end the phase of a "relatively non-militant achievement of improvements in the work and living conditions of wage earners."

Expectations pinned on the amendment of the Federal Vocational Training Act have failed to materialise. The Bonn government and the nation's political parties have gradually dropped their reform plans until all that remains is no more than a "torso" of the original proposals.

Experience (generally considered bad) in connection with attempts to influence reforms in the vocational training sector has left its imprint on the debate on how demands for the elimination of youth unemployment can be brought to fruition.

Many delegates warned against excessive optimism. As one of them put it: "The days in which it was possible to bring about improvements for the working class by tenacious bargaining, clever tactics and the careful use of strikes are gone for good."

Most of the delegates considered that the best chances to reduce youth unemployment lay in measures within companies themselves.

The objective should be to achieve more training places and guarantees of future employment by means of staff-management agreements in individual companies and by collective bargaining.

The conference specifically called on Works Council members to take the problems of young people to heart and to deal with them.

This concentration on possibilities of exerting influence within individual companies themselves was also evidenced by the rejection of several motions for nation-wide protest actions.

The same applies to the out-of-hand demand that all those who have completed vocational training be given a job in accordance with their qualifications.

Only a few of the more than 350 motions tabled at the conference led to any controversial discussions. In one motion the congress declared its solidarity with the present "protest action" at universities and called on unionised youth to lend active support to the students.

Another motion censured statements by CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss concerning conditions in Chile. The wife of the former Chilean President Allende took part in the congress as a guest.

Political disagreement became evident when the platform called on delegates to agree that a letter be written to the Permanent Representative of the GDR in Bonn demanding the release from prison of economist Rudolf Bahro.

The letter was to put forward the argument that "criticism of social conditions must not give rise to discrimination or indeed imprisonment."

On the previous day the congress had refused for formal reasons to deal with the motion. One delegate in four voted against forwarding this demand to the GDR.

Horst Bacia

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 December 1977)

Imaginary company run as training scheme in Cologne

Messrs Pütz and Rabe consider themselves indispensable in their company. They are in charge of the organisation department of *Schnellkauf Plastik GmbH u. Co. KG*, Cologne, and are in the process of computerising the company's operations.

On large trestle tables there are the organisational plans of the wholesale company and its work processes which are to be fed into the recently purchased medium-sized computer.

The two organisers are particularly proud of their programme for the coordination of manual and electronic work processes — a job which they consider creative work *par excellence*.

With all this enthusiasm they rarely become conscious of the fact that they are only practising and that their company does not exist in real life.

It is part of an action programme of the Federal Labour Office, which bears all costs, ranging from the charlady to the manager.

The Cologne "company" is sponsored by the *Angestellten-Akademie* (white collar workers academy), which is the educational foundation of the *Deutsche Angestellten-Gewerkschaft* (DAG), the white collar workers union.

This country now boasts 126 such mock companies intended as a training and transitional programme for the jobless.

Says Gerhard Lippke of the Cologne Labour Office, who is in charge of the project: "There is proper work being done here and the staff are faced with the same tough conditions as in a real company."

Many staff members identify themselves so much with their "company" that they no longer consider themselves jobless.

Anyone coming into the office tract of *Schnellkauf* is likely to be surprised by the beehive of activity.

Some of the 32 staff members are just familiarising themselves with the idiosyncracies of the computer, and in the typing pool the typewriters are running hot, processing orders from other mock companies. Accounts are making out payslips, while a secretary fixes a coffee.

An inquisitive staff member of the personnel department who butts in on the



conversation of his colleague from the organisation department is called back by the boss. Says one worker: "We even fight about who is in charge of what."

The manager of *Schnellkauf* is the only member of the group who is employed by the *Angestellten-Akademie*. He points out that there must be one person who can supervise the operation as a whole since there is a constant coming and going of staff members. The maximum time of training for the unemployed is nine months.

The popularity of this institution is borne out by the fact that there are sixty unemployed applicants listed at Cologne Labour Office. It would therefore seem justified to establish a second such mock company.

Messrs Pütz and Rabe, too, applied for this job at the Labour Office. One is a specialist in data processing and the other a former apprentice in the office equipment sector.

They want to improve their knowledge at *Schnellkauf* and later pursue further training elsewhere.

Herr Lippke would be glad if his candidates would spend less time behind a school desk and if they could be exposed to the rough and tumble of real life sooner.

He therefore wishes for more contact with actual companies which he expects to provide a stimulus and enrich the work programme.

In some mock companies, staff members are already being trained by means of programmes and machines of existing companies. This facilitates the transition, and the Labour Office pays for the training.

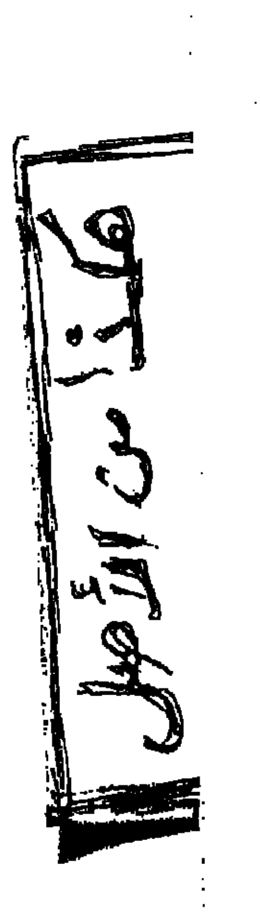
Says Herr Lippke: "We don't like our companies to be referred to as mock companies. This gives rise to wrong associations of ideas."

The name-plate on the door reads "Schnellkauf Training Company."

Schnellkauf has been in operation since 1 October. But Messrs Pütz and Rabe are determined to make a go of it — although they would be much happier if they could do so for a real company.

Ursula Hohmann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 December 1977)



■ INCOMES

Worker shareholders – too little too late?

For as long as man has engaged in economic activity he has experimented with the factors "labour" and "capital," but while some have wanted to overcome the conflict with the revolutionary's crowbar, others tried to achieve the same aim by conciliatory gestures.

In this apparent or real antagonism capital accumulation has always played a key role; and the impression that nothing is happening in this sector is as widespread as it is wrong.

Our society is by no means a body in which the mass of have-nots is enslaved by an elite of haves — even though certain groups would like to have us believe that this is so.

The capital of all working households in this country by far exceeds industry's total resources, and there is a silver lining to the nation's nest egg.

The workers' assets in the form of securities, million of homes and billions worth of claims against the social security pensions system belie the contention of an enslaved society.

But all this must not be permitted to lull us into a feeling of harmony. Considerable capital has been accrued — partly via the once ridiculed and now generally lauded DM312 and later DM624 Acts (essentially an incentive for workers to save and accrue capital) of which sixteen million workers currently take advantage.

There is, however, ample room for improvement where actual workers' participation in the capital with which business operates is concerned — a participation which could transform our society.

This is an explosive situation for both trade unionists and politicians. If the "wage slaves" were suddenly enabled to invest in the companies where they work, all the conflict strategies to which we have become accustomed would suddenly prove out of kilter.

How is a businessman to react if all of a sudden his stockholders are no longer anonymous investors or banks but members of his own staff? And what metamorphosis would a worker undergo if he had a say in the distribution of profits as a co-owner and partner in the business?

What course would collective bargaining take when not only cash remuneration for work but also wages for the purpose of capital accumulation were to become an integral part of bargaining?

Do our businessmen recognise the chances that lie in labour's capital accumulation?

And, finally, how would the trade unions react to the thus changed fronts and how would they cope if a Works Council member were suddenly to be found in the capitalist camp?

A surprising change has already taken place without forming the subject of public discussion. Sone 800 companies in the Federal Republic of Germany are already — and voluntarily so — practising measures aimed at capital accumulation by their staff.

Some 700,000 workers in this country are already part-owners of their employers' companies through staff shareholdings. Another 100,000 are in various forms participating in the capital of companies whose legal status does not entitle the management to issue such stock.

The capital accrued by labour in this manner at present amounts to DM2,300 million. Many a staff member who has been in his company's employ from the very beginning has thus managed to accrue 40,000, 60,000 and in some cases even 100,000 deutschmarks — an amount which is certainly sizeable enough to be termed capital.

But this does not mean that we have already achieved the breakthrough and become a nation of small capitalists. Even so, the *zeitgeist* — or should it perhaps be called pragmatism? — has already swept away ideas of collective capital formation.

The original intention was to impose a levy on business, which would flow into a fund to be controlled by the trade unions and intended to lead to "capitalised codetermination" which, together with other forms of exerting influence on business, would assume the character of "over-parity."

This attempt made it particularly clear where the fronts are: On the one side collective concentration of power and, on the other, free decision on the part of labour and management.

The fact that prospects for the second approach are not bad at all is evidenced by two events. For one, the Bonn Coalition parties recently agreed to extend capital formation on the part of staff through stocks and sleeping participation.

Secondly, the trade unionists' camp opened up with a vicious barrage — not only against future forms of staff participation in capital, but even against the utilisation of existing possibilities, of which many are still unutilised.

Business is groaning under the burden of high wage costs and lack of capital. Had the opportunity of capital accumulation been made use of ten years earlier both these problems would probably have been greatly mitigated.

There have been many sins of omission. The parties to collective bargaining have enmeshed themselves in a tug-of-war about the redistribution of cash; and in this tug-of-war business has been as disunited as have the trade unions.

There lies a challenge for our politicians, since nothing is more complicated than breaking down old and rigid structures.

The politicians are about to tackle this job. The Bundesrat (upper house) has been presented with a draft law put forward by the state of Bavaria, and the Coalition, too, is likely to come up with new legislation.

Much would be gained if the State were to remove legal and fiscal obstacles which today stand in the way of staff participation.

Neither the next nor the following round of wage negotiations — but perhaps the one thereafter — could conceivably come up with specific proposals. All other problems — ranging from bankruptcy safeguards to the structure of medium-sized companies — can be solved, given the will to do so.

Individual capital accumulation not only provides more scope for freedom, but — in the final analysis — it could prove something which no-one dared expect any more from a free market economy, namely the power to regenerate itself.

The end product could be not only a nation of haves but a nation of participants as well — not only a nation of stockholders in individual companies but of stockholders in democracy itself.

In an interview given a year ago to this newspaper the late Hanns-Martin Schleyer said:

"Our best way of preventing politically and economically wrong developments in the sector of capital accumulation is to not only point out the right way but to actually go it."

His words still hold good.

Peter Gillies

(Die Welt, 7 December 1977)

Stammheim post-mortems

Continued from page 4

munity functions within the women's section of the prison, and since the court has barred Frau Möller from meeting other terrorist prisoners, the Stammheim prison authorities are unable to grant the same privileges to her.

According to the Stuttgart Ministry of Justice, all non-structural walls and flooring in the terrorist tract of Stammheim prison have been torn out and searched.

In the course of this search a 1 cm diameter loudspeaker, which could be used to broadcast and receive morse signals, has been found in the neon light of a terrorist cell.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 December 1977)

Between the Devil and the deep

Regardless of the course economic development takes next year, and regardless of the trade unions' attitude in collective bargaining, Bonn's policy is likely to be on the skids.

— If the trade unions remain unyielding and if they demand wage increases of more than five or, indeed, six per cent our prime objective of reducing unemployment and imparting some equilibrium to our economy will suffer.

— If on the other hand the trade unions act reasonably and agree to wage increases of less than five per cent — a most unlikely contingency — we will come a step closer to economic prosperity, but the minimal increase of incomes would prove disastrous for the social security pension scheme.

The Bonn government, which will have to decide in favour of one or other of these alternatives, can thus only choose between the devil and the deep.

It must however be added that the Minister of Labour is more immune to the devil of excessive wage deals than is Bonn's Minister of Economic Affairs, since higher wage deals would somewhat mitigate the former's pension headaches.

The Minister of Economic Affairs, on the other hand, would find it easier to cope with the "deep" of an unmanageable pensions deficit than would his opposite number at the Ministry of Labour.

This sheds some light on the conflict of interests with which the Coalition government in Bonn has had to cope in the past few weeks — and will have to continue to do in the weeks to come.

The annual report on the state of the economy is due in January, and the government will have to put its cards on the table as regards the economic development it considers desirable.

Moreover, Bonn will also have to present its report on forthcoming pension increases, which must of necessity contain the government's forecast on the future course of unemployment and the development of earned incomes.

The Labour Minister had originally assumed that these incomes would increase by 7.5 per cent.

Even the relatively unfavourable so-called status quo forecast by the Council of Economic Advisers (dubbed the Five Wise Men), according to which unemployment would remain at its present high level due to excessive wage agreements, presupposes an increase in per capita income of a mere 5.5 per cent.

Should this forecast come true, the State pensions scheme — having only just been dragged out of the red and still being in need of a booster shot in early 1979, either by a postponement of pensions increases or by making the pensioners pay contributions towards health insurance — will nevertheless require additional amendments.

This conflict has already become visible in the differing comments by spokesmen of the two governing parties in Bonn on the latest report by the Five Wise Men.

The FDP spokesman advocated a particularly restrained wage policy while the SPD spokesman opposed an allegedly one-sided cure that would be restricted to incomes policy alone.

It appears that the SPD hopes that the economy will cope with higher wage increases without jeopardising even more jobs and depriving the social security system of revenue. But experience shows that this is unrealistic.

Above all, the Social Democrats are in danger of advocating less wage restraint — not least in order to preserve their particularly good relations with the trade unions — because they hope that this would enable them to more easily offset, via budget allocations, revenue shortages of the social security system that would not be so staggering should incomes rise.

The SPD could thus be spared having to impose additional burdens on the workers who foot the bill and on the pensioners, and its good reputation of being the party which has the interests of the man-in-the-street at heart would not suffer such a severe blow.

The danger inherent in such a course is enormous. The social security system already draws more heavily on the State than can be tolerated. With its government subsidies to the tune of more than 20,000 million deutschmarks the social security system accounts for the biggest single expenditure item in the budget.

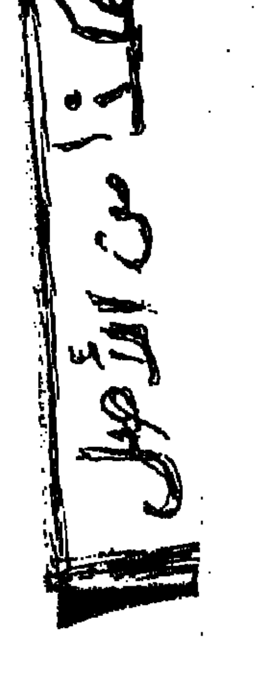
Unemployment insurance which, starting from the middle of next year, will have to reimburse the pension fund revenue shortages resulting from unemployment, could also easily become dependent on subsidies from Federal coffers if higher contributions should be declared "unsocial."

Having only just begun, this would put a sudden end to turning social security insurance into what, as the name implies, it should in any event be, no more and no less than an insurance.

This country's welfare policy would once more severely suffer from the reluctance of policy makers to face economic realities.

Dieter Piel

(Die Zeit, 2 December 1977)



■ TRANSPORT

Mercedes roller bus is a realistic new idea in public transport

Research engineers at Daimler-Benz have come up with a new idea in public transport which, they claim, combines the mobility of the bus with the speed of the train or even the humble tram. It is the roller bus, a slightly modified conventional bus designed to run between guiderails in city-centre tunnels and steer clear of rush-hour traffic. It sounds much more realistic than the inordinately expensive hovertrain and monorail schemes and similar, much-vaunted alternative modes of public transport.

Gone are the days when great things were expected of the hovertrain, of the magneto-hydrodynamic monorail and of the *cabin taxi suspension railway system* as alternative modes of public transport.

Yet only a year or two ago these various schemes were all being hailed as bright and none-too-distant prospects and research and development were subsidised to the hilt from public funds.

But all these bright ideas have since proved far too expensive, with drawbacks over and above the enormous investment in permanent way and rolling stock they would all have entailed.

The rival projects mostly involved unmanned, computerised ghost trains gliding effortlessly along tracks twenty or thirty feet above the ground, tracks that would snake their way through city streets from pylon to pylon at second-storey window level.

One may be excused for wondering whether this is the best way of beating city-centre congestion. It would certainly necessitate enormous sums in capital investment before fare-paying passengers start to reverse the cash flow.

Several years ago it was estimated that a cabin taxi network for a city the size of Hagen in the Ruhr, which has a population of 200,000, would cost roughly 1,000 million deutschmarks.

The cost of installing the system in Frankfurt, with a population of nearly 700,000, would be 1,500 to 2,000 million marks.

Yet no one has ever suggested that cabin taxis and their ilk would replace conventional public transport – buses, trams and Underground – which would continue to cost money.

This is a luxury no local authority can afford. Underground railways and the marginally less expensive subway trams cost a small fortune, and taxpayers are already wondering whether *they* are all they are made out to be.

Any system of local transport that relies on tracks cannot, by the very nature of things, serve an unlimited surface area – unless, of course, money is no object.

The most straightforward and least expensive mode of public transport – except, perhaps, in rush-hour traffic – *remains the bus in its many guises.*

It can use the existing road network, can stop where it pleases and can wend its way through traffic, steering clear of other road-users.

As and when the need arises new routes can be inaugurated from one day to the next – or existing bus routes amended. There is no getting away from the fact that the bus is the most versatile mode of public transport available.

It has its shortcomings, needless to say. It cannot carry as many passengers as a tram or Underground train. But in integrated public transport systems the bus neatly occupies a slot midway between trains and taxis.

In recent years all manufacturers have launched minibuses seating twenty or so. These newcomers to the bus range are extremely versatile, being ideally suited for use during slack periods or at night and in the outer suburbs.

At the other end of the scale there is the double-decker, which is typical of big cities such as London or Berlin and carries a substantial number of passengers in a relatively small space.

But articulated, concertina buses are even roomier, holding as many passengers as that old workhorse the tram, and developments in this sectors are by no means over yet.

Another drawback of the bus, however, is that it has to negotiate snail's-pace city traffic during the rush hour. Alternative modes of transport using tracks of their own are naturally faster.

The only remedy is to mark out bus lanes, and it is these bus lanes, frequently encountered in city centres and along main roads, which have prompted the latest ideas in manufacturers' pipelines.

Both MAN, in conjunction with Bosch, and Daimler-Benz (without logistical support from the electronics industry) have drawn up plans aimed at combining the advantages of the versatile bus and the less congestion-prone tram or rail service.

MAN have developed a system relying exclusively on electronic directional controls. Daimler-Benz also tried their hand at electronics but came to the conclusion that a straightforward mechanical system is far more satisfactory.

Electronic controls are all very well, but rails are safer. So Daimler-Benz simply attached rollers to the steering levers on the front axle.

These rollers are about six inches above the ground and jut out horizontally a few inches. They are designed to make contact with two vertical guiderails set parallel and a certain distance apart.

These guiderails keep the bus strictly on target. Every corner described by the rails is immediately transmitted via the rollers to the steering column and the front axle, which obediently keeps the bus on course.

Guiderails are only envisaged along certain sections of the bus route, of course, and at either end the entrance widens to a kind of horizontal cross-section of a funnel.

Buses entering the funnel do so without difficulty, trials have shown. Learner-drivers have no more trouble than the old hand at the wheel.

If you deliberately drive into the funnel at an angle your direction is immediately corrected by the rollers. As soon as the rollers make contact with the guiderails there is a slight jolt and the driver can take his hands off the wheel. From then on it is plain sailing.

Conventional buses can be fitted out with these rollers if the need arises. Nothing is easier. What is more, they are inexpensive.

Last but not least, the system is reliable. There is not too much wear and tear and nothing that might suddenly break down. Fitters and maintenance staff do not need specialised knowledge either.

The rollers consist of metal brackets on which solid rubber rollers are mounted. When the rubber finally wears down the need for a replacement can be seen with the naked eye and new rollers can be fixed in a matter of minutes.

As yet the *guiderails are 2.80 metres* (9ft 2in) apart, but trials have *shown* that a 2.55-metre (8ft 5in) track *should* suffice for a bus which is two and a half metres wide.

Steel guiderails are currently being used and have proved fairly inexpensive. But concrete kerbstones would fill the bill at a pinch provided they were a little higher than usual.

Rollers have the added advantage of reducing wear and tear on bus tyres, which really take a punishing from kerbstones as drivers pull into one bus stop after another.

Daimler-Benz joined forces at an early stage in the proceedings with Züblin

Continued on page 9



Mercedes roller bus with rollers jutting out from the front axle to the guiderails. Rollers, guiderails and tunnel sections are all prefabricated and relatively inexpensive.
(Photo: Mercedes-Benz)

■ SHIPPING

Bonn reassures worried shipowners

DIE WELT

Shipping companies and the Minister of Transport are equally worried about the gloomy prospects that appear to face the merchant navy in the wake of several lean years.

There are no signs of improvement, the Shipowners Association claims in its annual report, while Bonn Transport Minister Kurt Gscheidle, addressing the association's Hamburg annual general meeting, reassured shipowners that Bonn would not leave them in the lurch.

The shipping industry has already been lent additional government assistance. These aid measures will continue next year, he said.

Companies specialising in oil tankers and bulk carriers are particularly hard hit, the association notes. One major domestic operator has already gone to the wall.

It remains to be seen how shipping will surmount current difficulties in these sectors. Their own and outside capital investment may, with the aid of financial assistance from the Federal government, suffice to weather the calm.

With no signs of improvement in the offing bulk carrier tonnage is on the increase despite slack markets, while no less than 35 million tdw of oil tankers are still in mothballs.

There are even signs of slackness in the smaller bulk and tramp shipping markets.

The Shipowners Association was emphatic at its Hamburg AGM that in liner shipping political agreement must be reached with the Comecon countries.

Negotiations must be conducted with a view to stemming the tide of Comecon merchant navies and ensuring that the merchant marine in this country secures a fair share of bilateral shipping to and from Comecon countries.

If the Bonn government gains the impression that the Soviet Union is playing for time there must be no delay, the association maintains. Full use must be made of existing provisions (and new regulations enacted if need be) to ensure that this country's merchant navy is afforded such protection as may seem necessary.

Kurt Gscheidle told shipowners that he was reasonably confident on this point. The Ministry of Transport is in the process of preparing for the talks scheduled with the Soviet government.

The first round of talks is due to begin later this month or early in the New Year. Domestic shipowners will be represented at the negotiations with Moscow.

The European Community is also beginning to show interest in the problem now that the governments of other Western seafaring nations have increasingly come to realise what difficulties Comecon shippers present.

In view of the many difficulties shipping faces, the association is scathing in its criticism of shipping subsidies. Aid has benefited shipyards only and has yet to achieve its original objective of offsetting the disadvantage to which shipowners in this country are put by having to compete on international markets with other merchant navies that are subsidised to the hilt.

Nikolaus Schües, an owner of F. Laeisz, the well-known Hamburg line, was elected president of the association for a two-year term.

He is taking over the helm from John Henry de la Trobe of Hamburg-Süd, who served as president for three years.

Jan Brech

(Die Welt, 2 December 1977)

Continued from page 8

the civil engineers, who specialise in road and tunnel construction.

Züblin's research division developed prefabricated sections for both track and tunnels. The tunnel sections are tailor-made to suit the dimensions of conventional single-decker buses.

Tunnel sections are certainly designed to be as inexpensive as possible, and bus tunnels should prove far less costly than rerouting an entire tram underground.

Bus lanes, tunnels and guide rails would thus seem to provide a solution to the public transport problems faced by local authorities in cities currently served entirely by bus.

At reasonable expense in terms of capital investment they can route buses underground, providing them with tracks of their own in congested city-centre areas, allowing them to surface and travel as hitherto once they are clear of the city centre.

Take, for instance, Trier in the Rhineland, which has already shown interest in the system. A few tunnels and bus lanes are sure to prove less expensive than laying tramlines or building an Underground, city officials reason.

There is no need to buy new vehicles, and as for construction work, it should only be a matter of a few miles and a fairly modest investment.

The roller bus on guiderails is not intended as a substitute for the tram, Underground or suburban electric railway. It is merely designed to render the bus more versatile.

Rollers and guiderails really do look like making the bus more flexible as a mode of transport. What is more, local authorities will not have to come to terms with an entirely new transport system, which would be bound to entail additional problems.

In theory the driver could take a back seat for as long as the bus was on guiderail sections. They are certainly going to make his job easier.

What is more, articulated and concertina buses can use these routes in swift succession during the rush hour, catering for almost as many passengers as a railway network.

Jumbo buses could be fitted out with up to two or three trailers, each with rollers of their own, of course. Any additional problems that might arise would be easily solved.

Ice and snow, rain, slush and garbage en route are no obstacle. Daimler-Benz have already experimented with a variety of weather conditions, but the guiderail and roller system has so far proved fail-safe.

Small wonder that the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology is contributing towards research and development costs!

At present diesel-engined buses are being used in the trials, but the means of propulsion presents no problem Trolley buses would adapt just as readily.

Indeed, trolley buses with rollers would be environmentally beyond reproach, and exhaust fumes would not make life more complicated for tunnel engineers.

The roller bus does seem the most realistic new idea in public transport for many years. What is more, it can be used virtually anywhere.

Christian Bartsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 December 1977)

Nuclear safety at sea

Nuclear destroyers and submarines may be virtually old hat for the boys in blue but the idea of nuclear reactors powering tankers or freighters has yet to gain widespread acceptance in the merchant marine.

This country's *Otto Hahn*, a nuclear ore freighter run by Hapag-Lloyd, has covered more than half a million miles over the past decade but still only has permission to dock at thirty ports in various parts of the world.

Does a nuclear reactor between the bulkheads make a merchantman a floating atom bomb? The experts are unanimously agreed that any such misgivings are wholly unfounded.

They said so, for instance, at the conference on safety aspects of nuclear shipping held in Hamburg on 5 December under the auspices of OECD's Nuclear Energy Agency.

"We must start today to lay the groundwork for tomorrow's nuclear merchant shipping, and we must do so by dint of international cooperation," said Dr Ulrich Däunert of the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology.

International agreement is essential, he feels, to ensure that safety regulations are conscientiously enforced all over the world.

Nuclear merchantman are so advanced in technological design that they can fairly be claimed the safest ships there are.

At present half a dozen nuclear merchantmen are in use: three freighters and three icebreakers. Yet there are nearly 300 nuclear men-of-war.

The warships will never be subject to international safety requirements and, according to Dr Otto Kellermann of the Reactor Safety Agency, their safety precautions are none too spectacular.

The nuclear sub *USS Thresher* has lain on the bed of the Pacific for the past fourteen years.

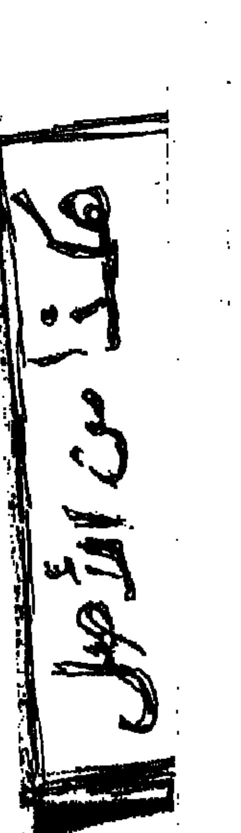
At a 5 December Hamburg press conference a US coastguard officer was asked how long it would be before the wreck has rusted to the point at which the reactor springs a leak.

That, he commented, was classified information.

One scientist in Hamburg for the conference reckoned that the *Thresher* probably never would rust at that depth because there is so little oxygen in the water.

Another delegate was more sceptical. "To the best of my knowledge," he said, "there are signs that the reactor has already broken up."

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 6 December 1977)



■ THE ARTS

Munich retro of famous satirical magazine

Munich's *Haus der Kunst* is currently showing an exhibition on *Simplicissimus*, a satirical magazine which was published in Munich from 1896 to 1944. *Simplicissimus* held up a mirror, or a distorting mirror, to German society and politicians for nearly half a century.

Carla Schulz-Hoffmann's vast and impressive retrospective is also the end of a legend. It shows that *Simpl*, as it was affectionately known, was not always politically forthright and courageous. Twice, in 1914 and in 1933, it lost its character by conforming to the dominant mood and, on the second occasion, this loss was irreparable.

Simpl's golden days were from 1896 to the beginning of the First World War, when it was the most important opposition paper in the land. The reputation it has gained for the pre-war period of Kaiser Wilhelm's rule is fully justified.

It was originally planned as a weekly cultural magazine with literary aspirations but after only a few issues it



Erich Schilling's 1927 cartoon captioned 'Run over by a car?' — 'No, by the Nazis.' (Photos: Katalog)

changed course and became a satirical glossy: the telling cartoons had met with a very positive response from its readers.

As Golo Mann writes in his introduction to the splendid and typographically very original exhibition catalogue:

"Mocking laughter was directed against a hierarchy which was still in power but old and unsure of itself. There was no shortage of suitable targets for biting satire."

Mann is right. There was a wealth of potential targets for the sharp *Simplicissimus* satirists to lay into in word and picture: the arrogance of the nobility, the ridiculous stuffiness of the upper middle classes, the narrow-mindedness of the military and the bureaucracy, the over-affluent grande bourgeoisie of the Wilhelminian era and, of course, political clericalism, which the *Simplicissimus* team considered the epitome of cultural and social reaction.

Simplicissimus writers and illustrators pilloried all manifestations of social inequality, caste mentality and exploitation with relentless mockery and wit. It was anything but a harmless humorous paper.

It became an unflatteringly accurate reflection of the "morals of the Wilhelminian class-State," as Anton Sailer puts it in his useful preface to the catalogue.

Publisher Albert Langen and his staff were nationalistic in their outlook but liberal, with left-wing sympathies. They were enlightened citizens in the tradition of South German humanism.

They were always on the side of the "little man" who was the victim of the prevailing system. They were basically sympathetic to social democracy (although they did not like its centralistic organisation).

They regarded militarism and "political popery" as their main enemies — as Ludwig Thoma, for many years a regular contributor to the magazine, always stressed.

Despite, or because of, innumerable bans, court cases and sentences against it, *Simpl* went from success to success, thanks largely to the basic editorial concept, which was constantly being refined — a clever mixture of political and anti-bourgeois satire, juicy eroticism and Bavarian local colouring.

The first issue on April Fool's Day 1896 was a complete disaster. Only about a thousand of 480,000 copies printed were sold. After this, however, circulation rose rapidly.

After a spectacular *lese-majeste* trial in 1898, *Simplicissimus* had 85,000 subscribers, and it was at about this time that the magazine began to acquire an international reputation.

Simplicissimus chose a bright-red snarling bulldog for its front-page symbol, and this was highly appropriate.

Foreign enthusiasm died suddenly when *Simplicissimus* joined in with the general spirit of jingoism at the beginning of the First World War. *Simpl*, like the majority of the Social Democratic party, believed that Germany was fighting a "just war" against the dark forces of Czarist reaction.

This was the irrevocable end of the Munich weekly's golden days. It did not regain its former glory in the Weimar Republic.

Political democracy is not and was not such a good target for satire, cabaret and caricature as the authoritarian State. However, *Simplicissimus* ruthlessly took Adolf Hitler and National Socialism apart — until the Nazis came to power in 1933 and the magazine was immediately banned.

The paper was published again only two weeks later. The (new) editorship had given the government "binding promises of loyalty" thereby consenting to its own virtual castration.

Simpl's last ten years were a sad caricature of its former self. It dragged on, tolerated as a means of proving to the rest of the world that freedom in Germany was not dead.

With a few brave exceptions, it contained nothing but propaganda cartoons for the Nazi regime and harmless jokes. In September 1944 it folded as a result of the general shortage of paper.

Simplicissimus' best writers and illustrators — joint founder Thomas Theodor Heine for example — had to flee for their lives in 1933.

SIMPLICISSIMUS

Th. Th. Heine's bulldog, famous in his day as the *Simplicissimus* mascot.

The fate of cartoonists who remained behind (such as Olaf Gulbransson, Erich Schilling, Eduard Thöny) was, in most cases tragic. Schilling committed suicide when the Americans entered Munich in 1945.

Twice since the war unsuccessful attempts have been made to resurrect the magazine. *Simplicissimus* remains a fascinating historical source work.

Its best articles and cartoons demonstrate the inestimable value of politically committed art. Its ultimate failure also demonstrates that acquiescence in political control is the death of worthwhile art.

Wolfgang Jean Stock

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 4 December 1977)

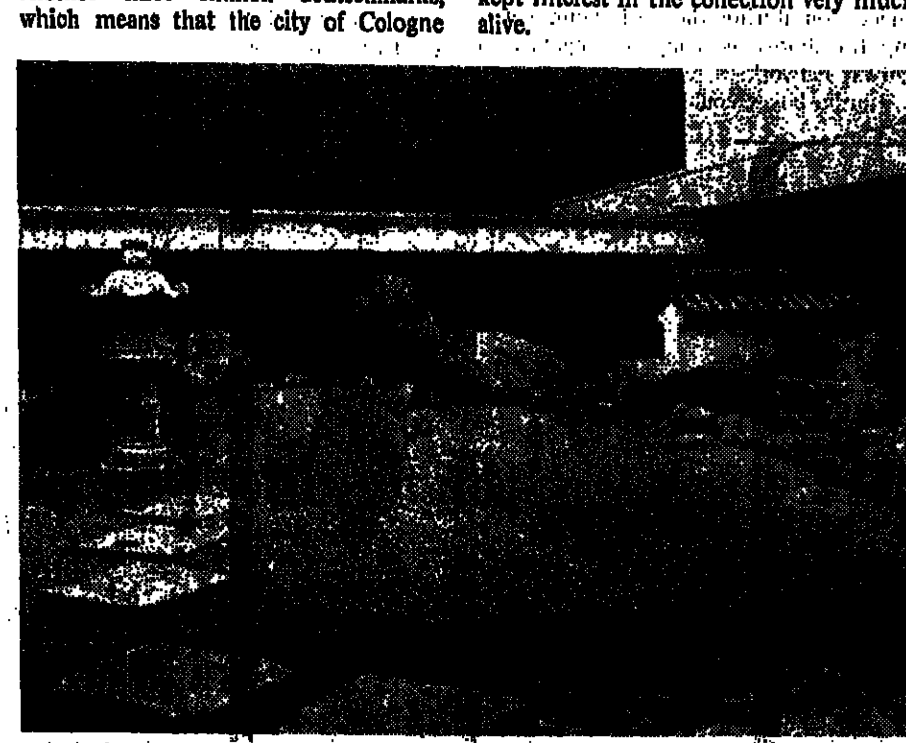
Cologne Museum of Far Eastern Art rehoused

Cologne Museum of Far Eastern Art was opened recently and is, without doubt, the most beautiful of the city's many museums. Perhaps the opening should have been postponed till the spring, when the exotic vegetation and landscaping would have been in blossom, heightening the overall effect (this was the original intention of Japanese architect Kunio Mayekawa).

However, the museum is opening seven years later than planned as it is. It was originally meant to open in 1970. In the meantime, building costs have risen. The museum cost DM14.4 million as against the original estimate of DM8.5 million.

The Federal government provided half this sum and North Rhine-Westphalia another three million deutschmarks, which means that the city of Cologne only had to pay DM4.2 million for a museum which is quite exceptional in its architecture and exhibits and uncommonly cheap at the price.

It also means that a large collection of Far Eastern objets d'art have now found a permanent home. Since the end of the war they have been kept in a makeshift museum which, though only provisional, kept interest in the collection very much alive.



Cologne's new Museum of Far Eastern Art designed by Kunio Mayekawa, a Japanese student of Le Corbusier's. (Photo: Die Welt)

The original museum was founded in 1909 by private citizens (as were all of Cologne's museums). It was the first independent museum of its kind in Europe and the first to give to Chinese Japanese and Korean art the prominence always given to European art.

There are five thousand exhibits in all, most of which survived the Second World War. About five hundred at a time will be exhibited in the new rooms. This method has been chosen partly for reasons of conservation and partly because it is a more effective mode of presentation.

As one walks through the ten pavilion-like exhibition rooms one keeps coming across selected examples of Ancient Chinese cemetery sculpture, Buddhist art from China and Japan, Chinese and Japanese painting, pottery and miniature art, textiles, tapestries and japanning. The museum also boast the finest collection of Buddhist wood engraving in Europe.

Korean art has a room to itself. The museum has what is probably the most important collection of Korean pottery outside Korea. The Korean National Museum in Seoul is sending sculptures and paintings by Korean masters on loan for periods of two years at a time.

Apart from these generous loans from Seoul, the new Cologne museum also received several valuable and some unique gifts or permanent loans for its opening. They came from England, Japan and Switzerland and from German collections. These gifts testify to the museum's international standing.

The museum's architecture, by former Le Corbusier student Kunio Mayekawa, is an impressive and compelling integration of European and Far Eastern construction and cultural elements and do much to enhance an already considerable reputation.

Eo Plunien

(Die Welt, 6 December 1977)

■ FILMS

Screen version of *The Bible As History* a 'failure'

Werner Keller's *"Und die Bibel hat doch Recht"* (The Bible as History) was a phenomenal success as a non-fiction book. It was translated into 85 languages and over 20 million copies were sold.

It is therefore hardly surprising that a "non-fiction film" is has now been made based on Keller's book. Manfred Barthel wrote the script and Harald Reinl directed the film.

The two of them have already achieved considerable international box-office success, particularly in the USA, with their version of Däniken's *Erinnerungen an die Zukunft* (Memories of the Future).

Barthel was formerly one of the bosses of Constantin, the Hamburg film company, and Reinl is famous as a director of bread-and-butter Romantic fiction films and of Karl May's *Winnetou*, the Wild West hero beloved of generations of German children.

Scriptwriter and director have used the same formula here which worked so well in their Däniken film. This means that they are not particularly interested in irrefutable facts, or optical chains of proof of the authenticity of the events described in the Bible.

The emphasis in this film is on retelling the story of the Old and New Testaments like a children's story and then tagging on a few daring or familiar interpretations and speculations.

We learn for instance that the Garden of Eden, the paradise of Adam and Eve, was not a particular place which we can pinpoint on the map but a "state of being on the border between legendary myth and verifiable history."

Further, we are informed that the Tree of Knowledge, the apple and the snake are themes to be found in pre-Biblical works — but the authors do not tell us what conclusions are to be drawn from this fact.

The film is equally vague when it comes to the Flood. The wide-angle camera ranges over the polar seas and crumbling glaciers. There are long and tedious excursions to Ur and Mari before we are informed that the name of Abraham was found on one of the 20,000 tablets of Ebla, which we are not shown.

Meantime, the camera has been ranging painstakingly and, for us, painfully over desert landscapes, mountains which all look alike, paintings and meaningless ruins.

Things liven up when it comes to the fall of Sodom and Gomorrha. There are pictures of hot springs and waterfalls and paintings of the famous scene. We learn to our amazement that "the two towns were engulfed in an earthquake."

And an earthquake — and not the sounding trumpets of Däniken's astronaut gods — brought about the fall of Jericho.

We move into the fairy-tale genre as Barthel and Reinl recount the life of Joseph in Egypt and try to give us an idea of what life in Egypt was like in those days. Later paintings of the Joseph story and Ancient Egyptian paintings (how ancient we are never told) are combined and decked out with the resounding names of two pharaohs (Ekhnaton and Tutenkhamen).

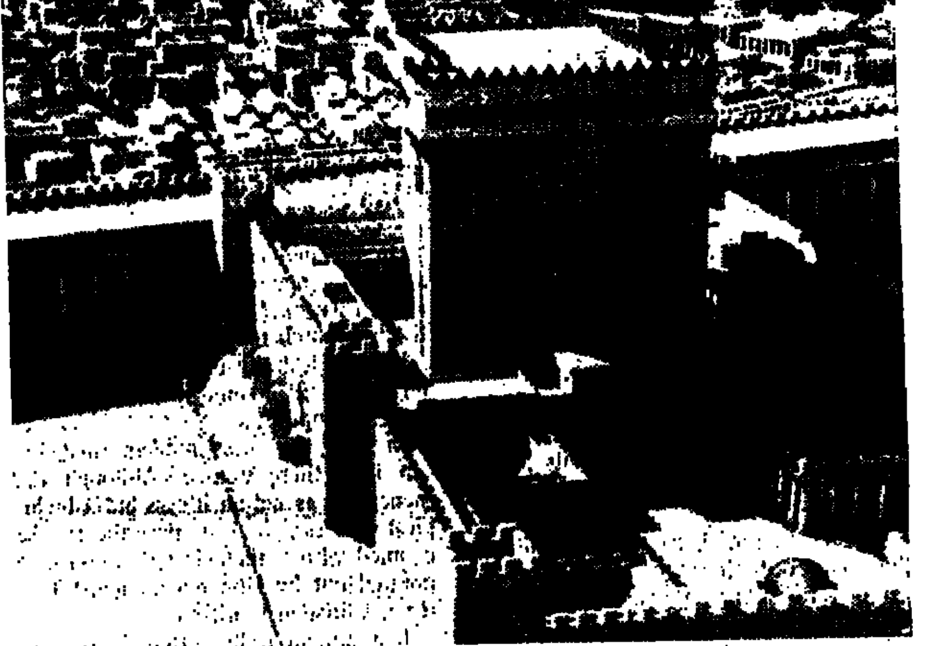
A number of interpretations of Old Testament miracles are quite plausible, though anything but new: for example that there are thorn bushes that can ignite themselves, that manna was made from desert plants, that Moses used a divining rod to find the water, that the passage through the Red Sea was probably the passage through a sea of reeds . . .

The treatment of Biblical places is nothing but kitsch of the worst kind. Instead of making something of the interesting fact that "Jesus is not mentioned in any Roman documents" (by which they mean any contemporary Roman documents) and drawing any conclusions from this fact, the camera ranges over a reconstructed model of what Jerusalem must have looked like when Jesus was alive.

Barthel and Reinl then launch into a verbal firework display in which they attempt to describe what life in Jerusalem was like at the time.

The speaker then talks us through the life of Jesus and the camera revels in shots of the sea at sunset and picture postcard views of Biblical places chosen arbitrarily and polished up by texts such as "bridges which Jesus and his apostles crossed." To the accompaniment of the adagio from Bruckner's Seventh Symphony.

Suddenly, we are privileged to hear a revelation which contradicts all that has gone before in the treatment of the Old Testament: "To explain a miracle is to misunderstand its meaning."



Jerusalem as it must have looked like in Biblical days — a still from the screen version of Werner Keller's *The Bible As History*. (Photo: Constantin)

So this is a non-fiction film of 1977 vintage. We leave the cinema realising that the experts have often been proved wrong but that all in all the book of books was right. This is fair enough, but to find this out it is enough to know the title of the film.

This could have been an exciting cinematic experience with explanations of how modern archaeology has often shown the Bible to be true (the function of the Bible as a history book), of what methods modern archaeology uses and how, today, after thousands of years, historical events can be precisely reconstructed.

In this respect the film is a failure, because it does not use the motion picture to present its case. The camera does not present us with an optical account of research findings but simply resorts to tedious concentration on landscapes which all look alike.

There was only one occasion in the film which revealed the potential of the non-fiction genre, and that was when the authors were dealing with the mystery of Christ's shroud in Turin. Here, they could rely on the (controversial) work of Monsignore Giulio Ricci.

Eckhard Schmidt

(Deutsche Zeitung, 2 December 1977)

Hamburg film festival fills a gap

There is no shortage of major or minor film festivals in this country, but you would have to go a long way to find one more interesting than the Hamburg Cinema Festival. This is both a festival for film addicts and a film fair.

The owners of the 150 programme cinemas in this country met recently over a long weekend to make their selection for next year's programme. They had 23 German and foreign films to choose from. The film-going public also had a vote, which made the process of selection rather easier.

The festival is organised by the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kino* (Cinema Working Party). Its chairman is Werner Grassmann, owner of Hamburg's Abaton Cinema.

These programme cinemas, which screen a different "quality film" every day, do not want to become dependent on the major film distributors. They have to compete on the one hand with non-profit making local film clubs which have assured sources of income from public funds and, on the other, with the big commercial city-centre cinemas.

Their ambition is to present worthwhile and artistically valuable films for which there is only a minority interest yet on the other hand they have to work on economic principles and try to break even or make a profit like the commercial cinemas.

Programme cinemas are excellent examples of the medium-sized business and often find themselves up to their necks in financial problems. This means that trying to reconcile the two above-mentioned aims is like trying to square a circle in many cases.

These cinemas want to reduce their dependence on the distributors by setting up a distributing system of their own. Their aim is to become distributors for about a hundred films by the end of the year. There have been similar experiments in the past which failed because the distributors were a club rather than a private company.

A film purchase society will now be set up. The programme cinemas have bought shares for DM71,500 and the city of Hamburg will also become a shareholder, contributing at least DM150,000. This will not be a subsidy from the cultural fund — the money will come from a special fund for the development of the economic structure of industry.

Programme cinemas could not exist without a well-informed and enthusiastic audience of regular cinema-goers. The number of people going to these cinemas rose by 20 per cent this year as against 1976, which shows that they fill a gap in the market.

If we look at the films on this year's programme, we can see how necessary these cinemas are. The films on show here are all works which the big distributors did not want us to see.

This is understandable enough in the case of the three German films — *Das unwirkliche Ende von Siegfried Braun* (The unreal end of Siegfried Braun) by Rainer Beck, *Krautsand* by Maria Czura and Tillmann Scholl and *Puppe kaputt* (Doll bust) by Dagmar Beiersdorf.

These films are all examples of mediocre and self-indulgent dilettantism. And Marguerite Duras' *Indian Song* is not everyone's cup of tea either.

These works are the exceptions. Why was not Philippe Mora's *Mad Dog* put on general release? It is an extremely violent film about a kind of Australian Robin Hood — could it be that Australia is too far away?

And why were we not allowed to see Peter Hyams' *Peeper*, a witty and ebullient thriller — was it because the dialogue was too clever? The same question must be asked about Yves Boisset's *Le juge Fayard dit le Sheriff* (Judge Fayard, known as the Sheriff) — was its subject matter too dangerous?

And what about *L'une chante, l'autre pas* by Agnès Varda, an optimistic and (perhaps too) beautifully filmed women's film — because there was not enough action?

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kino fills gaps left open by the commercial film industry. We can consider ourselves lucky that it exists. One can have no complaints that the German films on the festival programmes did not get on the big city screens. They simply did not deserve to.

However, it is sad that so many excellent foreign works are withheld from us. This is most obvious in the case of the documentary film. The Hamburg public voted *Harlan County USA* the top film. Directed by the American Barbara Kopple, it deals with a miners' strike and the end of the gangsters' stranglehold on American unions.

It is far more exciting than many a feature film. One wonders what a German film-maker would have done to the same subject.

Sven Hansen

(Die Welt, 30 November 1977)

■ HEALTH

Doctors disagree on oestrogen to ease change of life



The menopause is the phase in a woman's life when she has to adjust both physically and mentally to her body's diminished production of sex hormones.

In all likelihood, the same applies to the man, but since, as opposed to the woman, he retains his procreation ability, many experts do not recognise "change of life" as a medical fact in men.

Klimakterium, a not uncommon German word for the phenomenon, is derived from the Greek *climax*, meaning ladder.

Says Professor Gerhard Laudahm, head of research at the Schering pharmaceuticals company, inaugurating a seminar on the menopause which his company recently arranged for the press:

"You can stop on a ladder; by the same token you can also continue to climb it, but if you do you may need some assistance."

Whether and to what extent a woman suffers from the menopause will largely depend on her position within her environment.

This applies to her immediate circle — the satisfaction she derives within her family and from her job — but it also applies to the role assigned to the aging woman in society.

The typical biological complaints that accompany menopause, such as hot flushes, sweating and dizziness, are closely linked with the diminishing activity of the ovaries.

Psychological symptoms, on the other hand, as for instance irritability, insomnia and moodiness, are frequently blamed on the menopause although they are actually governed by sociological and cultural factors.

Curiously enough, this was stressed by Dr Peter von Keep, Brussels, representative of the International Health Foundation, an organisation which misleadingly turns out to be subsidised by hormone manufacturers.

In some cultures and sub-cultures, Dr van Keep pointed out, a woman's status improves the very moment she stops menstruating. In these societies women have no change of life disorders although they undergo the same biological changes as other women.

The menopause only becomes a problem in societies where the woman is assigned a fixed and rigid role — usually that of mother.

In societies like our own, where fertility is the (deliberately created) exception rather than the rule, the role assigned to womanhood is that of being a young woman.

In our "youth monoculture," Schering research scientist Dr Lachnit pointed out, the older woman enjoys no status, for it is a woman's function in society to be young.

The change which the role of the woman is undergoing at present will, according to Dr van Keep, relieve many of the psychological problems of the menopause.

Even now, only between eight and fifteen per cent of women react neurotically to the biological changes that occur around the age of fifty. Frequently these women have been known to react neurotically beforehand. The others cope with this biological situation notwithstanding physical, and in some instances psychological, symptoms.

In many instances modern medicine can help these women. Although the menopause is not an illness but a biological process, it can nevertheless be coupled with pathological symptoms, as pointed out by Ulm gynaecologist Professor Christian Lauritzen.

If a woman really suffers from menopause symptoms she should receive treatment. Such symptoms, which are usually attributable to a decrease in hormone production, can be eliminated by means of hormone treatment.

According to Professor Lauritzen's estimates some thirty per cent of women going through the menopause need treatment; other doctors put the figure at fifty per cent. But only ten per cent of them require hormone treatment.

Although Professor Lauritzen is a convinced advocate of hormone therapy he nevertheless warns against unwarranted expectations. "Oestrogen," he says, "cannot rejuvenate, and we must not expect miracles from it."

All it can do, according to Professor Lauritzen, is to retard aging slightly by improving skin texture. But he has a high regard for the controversial prophylactic properties of oestrogen for porousness of bones, which comes with age and frequently leads to fractures.

Oestrogen should not be handed out like candy. But nevertheless Professor Lauritzen feels that hormone treatment should begin at the first sign indicating that bones are becoming brittle.

As to the duration of hormone treatment, Professor Lauritzen is somewhat contradictory. Just before the seminar began, he said "it is frequently advisable to administer a short-term oestrogen treatment which will help the patient cope with the worst of the menopause symptoms until her body regulates its hormone production of its own accord."

Long-term treatment should, according to Professor Lauritzen, be reserved for patients with protracted complaints and the risk of severe disorders later on.

In the discussion, however, the question as to the best way of providing the body with hormone substitutes that would enable it to regulate its own hormone output and adapt itself to the changed situation was in the foreground.

It would seem logical and in keeping with biological facts to offset the abruptly lowered hormone level by the administration of oestrogen, thus making the drop in hormone level less pronounced and facilitating the patient's adaptation to changed circumstances.

But Professor Lauritzen now no longer accepts the term adaptation. He believes that a small group of patients should receive long-term treatment since their complaints recur as soon as the therapy is discontinued. In such cases, the menopause is postponed indefinitely by means of pharmaceuticals.

Asked by a journalist whether this did not foist upon the body something that is entirely against nature, he replied: "This is what we doctors have been doing all along."

Since the question (which many women consider crucial) how the treatment of menopause complaints can be discontinued remained unanswered, we posed this question to another experienced gynaecologist.

Professor Hanns-Werner Boschann was asked how a woman can "step off the ladder" at the top of which she has been kept by pharmaceuticals and arrange her life on a lower rung. What must be done in order to prevent her from stopping half way?

Professor Boschann answered as follows: "We must reduce the dosage or increase the intervals at which oestrogen is taken and find out whether the complaints recur or not.

"Frequently the symptoms fail to recur after a year's treatment, in which case the patient has adapted herself successfully, and sometimes we have to continue treatment over a long period but with a minimal dosage.

"Many women simply stop taking oestrogen of their own accord because they no longer need it, while others disregard the prescription altogether."

According to Professor Boschann, most women have enough common sense not to accept permanent treatment anyway. His guiding principle is: "Administer as much as necessary and as little as possible."

This is roughly a middle-of-the-road position among German gynaecologists. He is neither an absolute advocate of hormone therapy, as is Professor Lauritzen, nor does he oppose it.

Both Lauritzen and Boschann are, however, agreed on one point: A woman who seriously suffers from the menopause should not be deterred from hormone treatment by fear of cancer.

Research into the side-effects of oestrogen provides no clear indication that such hormones can cause cancer.

Rosemarie Stein
(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 December 1977)

Psychic ailments proliferate among the elderly

Frankfurter Rundschau

Recent studies indicate that at least thirty per cent of all outpatients aged over 65 must be considered emotionally ill.

This high percentage is probably attributable to loneliness. This has now been established and reported by the geriatric psychiatrist Professor Kanowski of Berlin's Free University at the *Medica 77* congress in Düsseldorf.

Professor Kanowski based his contention on observations carried out at his clinic. According to these observations, more than fifty per cent of outpatients with mental illness due to old age are widowed, divorced or single.

The share of women, amounting to eighty per cent, is particularly conspicuous. Most of them suffer from depression, insomnia, helplessness, mental unrest and general confusion.

As opposed to hospitalised patients, hallucinations are rather rare among the "walking wounded."

dpa
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 November 1977)

Hanover brain surgery brings spastics relief

A medical working group established at Hanover Medical School and headed by Wolfgang Winkelmüller is attempting to help spastic children whose affliction is particularly serious.

The cause of the disease, which affects between 0.1 and 0.2 per cent of all children in the Federal Republic of Germany, is brain damage sustained immediately prior to, during or after birth or in the very first years of life, as for instance by encephalitis, metabolic disorders or injury.

Spastic children are usually treated along the lines of the Bobath method, namely by physical therapy.

This method has enabled therapists to retard the pathological movement processes of spastics, enabling them to help themselves and perhaps even to pursue a trade or earn a living.

In cases of severe brain damage, however, defects cannot be corrected lastingly. Patients remain severely handicapped and are unable to control their limbs, thus being tied to a wheelchair for the rest of their lives.

A new method that is now in use in Hanover was developed eighteen months ago by Irving S. Cooper of St Barnabas Hospital, New York.

A brain stimulator, in other words an electrode, is inserted into the brain. This electrode can be controlled by the patient through a wireless, battery-operated transmitter.

But the success of the Hanover treatment does not only lie in the application of this new type of surgery. It is also attributable to special checking procedures which enable the physician to obtain information about the type and extent of spastic movement disorders.

Thus, for instance, newly-developed apparatus enables doctors to diagnose and measure such disturbances and apply the exact degree of electric stimulus to the brain by means of the electrode, which measures 10 by 20 millimetres.

The electric impulses imparted by the stimulator harmonise abnormal movement processes and relax spastic muscles.

The patient can thus carry out meaningful and purpose-oriented movements — something he was unable to do prior to surgery.

Anyone who has to deal with so severely handicapped people will realise what it means for them to suddenly find themselves capable of cleaning their own spectacles, picking up the telephone and operating their electric wheelchair.

The success of the operation becomes evident either immediately following surgery or several months later. The electric stimulation itself is not felt by the patient and no adverse side effects have been observed. The operation entails little risk and influences the nervous system in a purely physiological manner.

The previously employed technique whereby, in severe cases, certain brain centres were destroyed, frequently caused irreversible damage.

The new method is only employed on children aged over six. It can also be used on adults, but only provided the joints have not completely stiffened as a result of years of inactivity.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 December 1977)

■ EDUCATION

Student strikers are not rebels without a cause

One often hears of the exclusive traditional fraternities at the German university and what an important part they played in student life.

Yet the were already passé when our fathers were at university. Money was no object at the end of the nineteen forties, for the simple reason that no one had any, so there was no cause for envy.

There were few scholarships to be had, and it was years before the state grant system was introduced. Professional prospects were gloomy — there were two million unemployed.

The fathers of the present student generation did not go on strike. Not because they were good and obedient ("conformists" is the term used nowadays) but because they all had one aim: to complete their studies as soon as possible. They had no need for action — they had seen enough of that, and they knew that a student strike changes nothing.

Why are students striking today? This is the real question, and not whether we should call it a "strike" or a "lecture boycott." Nor yet whether a lecture boycott is allowed, or whether this strike has the support of the vast majority of students, as left-wing activists claim, or is being "stirred up by a small minority," as conservatives put it.

On the surface the strike appears to against the *Hochschulrahmengesetz* (University Framework Act), which was drafted by the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn for which most students voted in last year's general election.

This Act was passed two years ago. It is a bad Act. The understandable wish to coordinate university policies among the states and bring a lengthy controversy to an end led to nasty compromises between government and Opposition. Yet this did not appear to worry the students all that much at the time.

By next year, the states will have to have completed the revision of state university regulations so that they conform to the Federal Framework Act.

The students are now striking to delay the passing of state university laws (which will achieve nothing) and to force an amendment of the Federal Framework Act (and given the present constellation in Bonn there is little prospect of this).

There are three sections of the *Hochschulrahmengesetz* to which the students particularly object:

1. The law would not allow the student representative body, of which every student is automatically and compulsorily a member, to have a political mandate.

This compulsory membership has an authoritarian tradition. But if one accepts it, it seems that one must grant this representative body the right to express its views on matters which it considers to be important.

2. University regulations are to be introduced or, where they already exist, tightened up. There are many who hope that this will present them with a chance to discipline students. Here the government is, quite unnecessarily, waving a red rag.

If it were only to be applied, as we are constantly being assured, when violence is involved, then the ordinary criminal code would have been perfectly adequate.

3. "Fixed maximum periods of study" are to be introduced. This is a perfectly reasonable and justifiable proposal. All it would do would be to bring German universities into line with what has been common practice in other countries for some time, and deprive Arts Faculty students of privileges which medical students had never enjoyed.

It would also establish the connection with the rest of the working world which committed students have been demanding for some time.

Unfortunately, this proposal has come at the wrong time. With unemployment so high at the moment, a place at university gives the student a fairly safe place in society. The proposal is also premature, because the necessary groundwork has not yet been done: clear-cut courses and precise examination requirements have to be worked out first.

A further cause of complaint from the students has to do with a judgment passed by the Federal Constitutional Court. The students claim that this judgment means a move away from the "group university and back to the days of the professors' university."

This is indeed the trend and many, not only students, regret this. Yet it was the Federal Constitutional Court which pointed the way, and the government had no choice but to follow.

The heady decade of reform is over. This seems to be the wish of the majority of the electorate. Over-eager students and educationalists are partly to blame for this reaction.

The students do not enjoy a great deal of sympathy from large sections of the population, and the strike is unlikely to improve this situation.

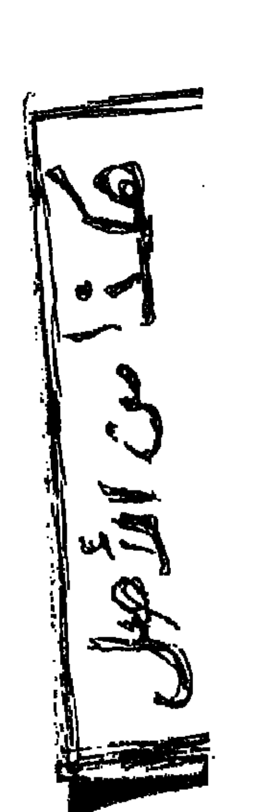
A march on Bonn would have been a much more effective way of drawing attention to their grievances than a boycott of lectures which cost the taxpayer a lot of money and which many an unsuccessful candidate for a university place would be only too glad to attend.

So why are the students striking? We have often heard people say that they are "much too well-off." And certainly there were students who took advantage of the university boycott to go off for some skiing or to go to bed and get up late. There was a "strike party" at Hamburg University on 2 December.

Yet appearances are deceptive. Those who know the facts are chary of making generalisations. There is no such thing as "students" as a homogeneous body,

Continued on page 15





■ OUR WORLD

Evening classes on how to stop smoking

Two hundred adult education centres and local authority health departments are interested in running courses to teach people to break the smoking habit, the Bonn Health Ministry claims. The first batch of instructors are currently being briefed with a view to launching courses next spring.

The first twenty-one instructors are now undergoing courses at the Victoria Hotel in Bad Mergentheim. The course is sponsored by the Cologne-based Federal Centre for Health Information, a department of the Bonn Ministry of Health. Instructors are to increase in number over the next few weeks along the lines of the snowball system.

According to the Health Ministry, some 200 *Volkshochschulen*, or adult education centres, and public health officers are already anxiously awaiting these instructors.

Once hundreds of non-smoking teachers have been let loose there is every likelihood that a flourishing branch of industry in this country will find itself in dire straits.

As opposed to private courses, which are offered at a cost of up to DM1,000 and which carry no guarantee of success, the non-smoker courses at the *Volkshochschule* will cost a mere DM25.

Dr Mantek, who is now training the first "trainers" in Bad Mergentheim, has little that is pleasant to offer to smokers.

For ten weeks the future non-smokers will have to undergo ninety minutes of group therapy per week; and they will not become non-smokers by osmosis but will have to contribute their share.

The Health Ministry's programme is based on teaching and behaviour therapy.

After years of close cooperation with the psychology department of the Max Planck Institute for Psychiatry in Munich the Federal Centre for Health Information evolved what it calls "an effective method."

Smoking is not given up instantly. Instead, the smoker learns to analyse the situations that make him smoke and to exercise control over his smoking habit, giving it up altogether eventually.

The demand for the courses should prove impossible to satisfy if everybody accepted the Health Ministry maxim whereby smoking is harmful to health in absolute terms – even for those who only smoke a few cigarettes a day.

According to latest statistics, 43 per cent of this country's population aged between 20 and 65 are smokers. Of these 39 per cent smoke cigarettes only – and of these, again, 34 per cent smoke filter and five per cent plain cigarettes.

In the new edition of its brochure "Take Fifteen Seconds to Think" the Health Ministry cocks a snook at current cigarette advertising slogans, as for instance by the following remark: "A person who becomes ill as a result of smoking is unlikely to experience all the euphemistically enhanced success of the smoker of Brand X."

The first candidates for non-smoking lessons have a already enrolled at the Cologne *Volkshochschule*, which is this country's largest, having an enrolment of between 25,000 and 30,000. Alas, the non-smokers-to-be still have to wait for teachers.

In Hanover, the first courses are scheduled to take place next autumn. There will be three parallel courses with 25 students each.

Stuttgart *Volkshochschule* alone has jumped the gun. For the past few semesters it has been offering a course entitled "Possibilities of Self-control".

Say the Stuttgart adult educators proudly: "Here you can not only learn how to quit smoking, but also how to eat less or how to stop shirking the dentist."

Eberhard Nitschke
(Die Welt, 2 December 1977)

Göttingen medic probes lonely hearts ads

Women teachers who are usually considered particularly emancipated among Germany's academics are said to be most marriage-happy.

This has been established by a study carried out by Professor Jörgensen of the Institute of Human Genetics at Göttingen University following an evaluation of 2,672 marriage ads in the German press.

According to Professor Jörgensen, 7? female teachers, 306 secretaries, medical and technical assistants and 149 social workers, doctors, pharmacists and female clergy were looking for husbands through the appropriate columns of the press.

Another 326 female academics who were out to find a man for life made no indication as to their profession. Among the non-academic marriage candidates were 25 women journalists, 20 businesswomen and 10 students.

Says Professor Jörgensen: "It seems evident that even highly educated women don't want total emancipation ... and that's hardly a reason to get worried." *ad*

(Münchner Merkur, 1 December 1977)

Viewing habits analysed

Men spend an average of 39 minutes in front of the TV set on working days as opposed to 95 minutes for women. This has been established by a media research team of one of this country's major television networks.

According to a study which has just been published children aged between 8 and 13 spend about 1.5 hours glued to the TV screen on weekdays and 2.5 hours on Saturdays and Sundays.

Those aged between 3 and 7 look at television for about an hour on weekdays and 1.5 hours on weekends.

There are considerable differences concerning the time spent watching television depending on the educational standard and the profession of adults.

Adults with elementary schooling and without vocational training look at television for 112 minutes a day, those with vocational training for 97 minutes and those with further education for 8? minutes. *epd*

(Die Welt, 30 November 1977)

Humbly do I beg my most highly revered lords to let me have a weekly offering of alms in view of my dire poverty and my many children and I remain your most humble subject."

Bonn committee handles 20,000 grouses a year

Such letters were sent to the German authorities in the eighteenth century.

As a rule, the 20,000 petitions that reach the Petitions Committee of the Bundestag every year are considerably less humble.

The Petitions Committee, also known as the nation's Wailing Wall, deals with complaints by members of the general public usually concerning inequities of social legislation which can be mitigated only by an "authority of last resort."

The Petitions Committee's report on its work in the years 1972 to 1976 shows that of the 50,000 petitions received during that time the lion's share (eighteen per cent) concerned matters relating to social security, children's allowances and old age pensions.

These were followed (twelve per cent) by complaints about seemingly inequitable administrative measures, the Aliens Act and environment matters.

Third and fourth in volume (each about 10 per cent) are complaints by disgruntled public servants and by people who consider themselves unjustly treated by the courts.

Only in three per cent of the cases has the Committee been able to deal with the wishes of its fellow-citizens as requested.

It was, for instance, unable to comply with the wish of one petitioner who wrote: "The pensions are so small, and yet there are so many churches being built. Moreover, it is easier to pray with false teeth than without. I therefore ask you to stop this construction of new churches."

According to the Constitution, every citizen has a right to recourse. In cases where there is no authority to which such applications could be addressed, they land with the Petitions Committees of the Bundestag or the state assemblies.

The work load in Bonn has increased to such an extent in the past few years that even the Federal Audit Office allowed the Committee to increase its staff from 48 to 54.

The justification with which the Petitions Committee is frequently forced to reject applications can best be demonstrated by the application of a woman who demanded that the *Bundesbahn*, (German Federal Railways) recognise her as a "state-approved ticket clipper" which would enable her to obtain all the privileges of a civil servant.

She wrote, in part: "Due to the culpable attitude on the part of the *Bundesbahn* I have been deprived of a successful civil service career. If the Federal Republic of Germany is in fact a social and constitutional state the *Bundesbahn* must be stopped from continuing its frivolous game with women." *dpa*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 December 1977)

■ SPORT

Weyer bids for financial independence from Bonn

Sports League president Willi Weyer tells the tale of a pair of shoes bought for a caretaker at a cost of forty deutschmarks.

In their annual audit of Sports League accounts officials of the Federal Audit Office had even objected to the purchase of a pair of shoes, Herr Weyer angrily notes.

Yet it later transpired that because the caretaker also works as a gardener he is entitled, according to civil service regulations, to a pair of shoes worth sixty marks.

Such pettifogging tomfoolery and red tape makes Willi Weyer's hackles rise. After all, his *Deutscher Sport-Bund* (DSB) represents fourteen and a half million members of affiliated sports clubs and organisations all over the country.

Yet for 27 years the Sports League has submitted to this tutelage, steadily relinquishing independent objectives and initiatives in return for government subsidies – and accountability to the Federal Audit Office.

Willi Weyer, the sixty-year-old former Free Democratic Interior Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, has had enough of this state of affairs.

On New Year's Day the DSB, which can fairly claim to be the organisation with the largest membership in the country, will cease to be, in its own opinion at least, a virtual department of the Bonn Ministry of the Interior.

Meeting in Frankfurt the Sports League's executive committee has decided to dispense with government subsidies. The decision will not be final, however, until it is endorsed by the DSB's annual general meeting in Munich next May, when Herr Weyer will stand for re-election for a four-year term.

A couple of months ago this outcome looked highly unlikely. At the end of September a vexed Willi Weyer announced in a newspaper interview that he would not be standing for re-election unless a greater degree of independence from government apron-strings were assured.

What he had in mind was adequate financial backing from organised sport itself instead, but at that stage the future looked none too promising for the sixty-year-old heavyweight.

Even close friends fancied that he was merely on the lookout for a convenient opportunity to quit and had raised the bidding accordingly.

But they were mistaken. Herr Weyer has found his first three years in office harder going than he had anticipated, and when officials proved inordinately faint-hearted and tempers grew heated at DSB headquarters in Frankfurt he did, on occasion, threaten to resign.

On the other hand he feels too young to call it a day even though his health is no longer as good as it once was. So he has rolled up his sleeves and decided to put up a fight.

It took him a mere six weeks to bring DSB officials round to his point of view. First he gained the backing of his presidium, then he enlisted the support of the state sports leagues, which are fairly well-to-do regional organisations.

Last but not least, the associations representing individual disciplines reluctantly gave him the go-ahead.

So Willi Weyer has finally jawboned sports officials to fund the DSB. A share in lottery revenue should net three million deutschmarks a year, while a 100-per-cent increase in membership dues will add a further 2.4 million marks.

This is a surprising amount of money when you bear in mind that membership dues have in point of fact merely been doubled from five to ten pfennigs per head.

At all events the Sports League now has a little over five million marks a year to cover its administrative and staff costs, whereas the Federal government has shelled out four million marks a year in the past to plug the gap.

These four million marks will not now vanish into thin air, however, Herr Weyer astutely claims. He enlisted the support of sports associations by reaching agreement with Bonn Interior Minister Werner Maihofer, a fellow-Free Democrat, that the four million marks will be invested in individual projects, such as the introduction of costly doping checks.

State sports leagues were persuaded to part with five per cent of their lottery revenue and here too Herr Weyer had a persuasive argument.

They would hardly miss this invaluable contribution to DSB funds, he claimed, because this year seems sure to prove a record year for lottery revenue.

Is it fair, then, to conclude that Willi Weyer has won a famous victory? Up to a point yes, but he has failed in his initial ambition to persuade wealthier constituent organisations, such as the Football Association, to pay additional contributions into a special fund.

In sport, as in so many other walks of life, solidarity is a dead letter as soon as money is involved. A measly 2.4 million marks from fourteen and a half million members really is a pittance.

Hitherto Herr Weyer has been dependent on the Federal government. Now he seems destined to be dependent on sports officials.

They have already announced their intention of keeping a close eye on DSB expenditure. Could it be that Willi Weyer is heading out of the frying pan and into the fire?

Günter Deister
(Die Zeit, 2 December 1977)

Willi Weyer
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Schockemöhle back in training

Schockemöhle is a name that looks like continuing to make showjumping headlines. Montreal Olympic gold medallist Alwin Schockemöhle, who has retired because of a back injury, is to loan his Olympic mount, Warwick Rex, to his younger brother Paul.

Alwin Schockemöhle, fresh from a Milan specialist who had taken yet another look at his longsuffering backbone, countered criticism by saying "It is only an experiment. If the two do not hit it off in training Warwick Rex will be put out to graze again."

If the decision were up to Otto Schulte-Frohlinde, Schockemöhle's father-in-law and co-owner of the eleven-year-old stallion, Warwick Rex would stay in retirement.

"He has accomplished so much in his lifetime. He can only lose from being thrown back into the fray."

It took Alwin Schockemöhle a couple of days to change his father-in-law's mind, but change it he did. Showjumping horses of Warwick Rex's calibre are few and far between, and riders in this country are dependent on them if they want to equal past performances.

No objections were raised by the Olympic Equestrian Committee, so Paul Schockemöhle now has two outstanding horses, the other being Diester, a six-year-old previously ridden by world champion Hartwig Steenken, who is still unconscious.

"I shall do my best to prove worthy of the responsibility that has been given me," says Paul Schockemöhle.

His brother Alwin only started riding Warwick Rex in 1974, and it was not love at first sight, Schockemöhle says. Warwick Rex was previously owned by Jürgen Ernst, Hermann Schridde and Leon Melchior, but with Schockemöhle went on to become an all-time great in the showjumping ring.

He is a superb and ever-ready jumper who inspires an air of confidence. He is also prepared to accept without question what his rider requires.

Warwick Rex made history in Montreal by becoming the first horse ever to win an Olympic gold medal without making a single fault.

Will he repeat the feat in Moscow? It would be another record if he did. *sid*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 6 December 1977)

Student strikers

Continued from page 13

just as there is no such thing as "taxi-drivers" or "doctors."

But one thing can be said about the majority. It is not much fun being a student any more. The universities still have not overcome the problems raised by the massive increase in student numbers – from 250,000 to 800,000 in ten years.

Where there were once 25 students, there are now eighty. Noise and bustle are greater. Accommodation is more expensive. There are queues for laboratory places, meals, books. Students have to travel further.

Eighty students now sit for an exam which, ten years ago, was only taken by ten. This devalues the examination. Only the first 25 have the same chances as ten years ago. When one person in four is a graduate, then there is no longer anything "special" about graduates.

Touching attempts to keep up standards or preserve the status of universities as institutes of research are not only futile but harmful. They mean an increase in pressure and competition which does nothing but create "failures" and push up the suicide rate.

The students have taken refuge from their discontent in action. This is a familiar phenomenon in psychology: better to do something futile than nothing at all. And perhaps it was not so futile after all.

Students have gained a new feeling of solidarity in recent weeks, in some universities more than others. It has helped bring them out of the isolation to which students are particularly prone: learning is an activity which leads to and encourages solitude.

The students' complaints have not been fully articulated – but they are justified. They overlap, to a considerable extent, with staff complaints. The rest of us should not just sit by and watch the universities – which train our doctors, engineers, lawyers, journalists and politicians – going to the dogs.

Rudolf Walter Leonhardt
(Die Zeit, 2 December 1977)